

JPRS-UPA-87-026

8 SEPTEMBER 1987



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# ***JPRS Report***

# **Soviet Union**

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***Political Affairs***

8 SEPTEMBER 1987

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## SOVIET UNION POLITICAL AFFAIRS

### CONTENTS

#### PARTY, STATE AFFAIRS

PRAVDA Finds Party Official Who Still Opposes Glasnost (V. Shalgunov; PRAVDA, 19 Jun 87) .....	1
Kirghiz Deputy Recalled by Voters for Record of Abuses (Kadyr Omurkulov; MOSCOW NEWS, No 26, 5-12 Jul 87) .....	6
Cadre Problems in Agroindustrial Committee Highlighted (N. Mammadov; KOMMUNIST, 10 Apr 87) .....	8
Agricultural Management in Nakhchyvan Faulted (T. Aliyev; KOMMUNIST, 21 Apr 87) .....	8
More Responsibilities Urged for Non-Party Members (KOMMUNIST, 25 Apr 87) .....	8
Better Leadership Demanded in All Sectors (KOMMUNIST, 28 Apr 87) .....	9

#### MEDIA, PROPAGANDA

Afghan, Iraqi Media Discuss Soviet Azerbaijan (Rovshan Valiyev; KOMMUNIST, 21 Apr 87) .....	10
Document Collection Highlights Azeri-Russian Amity (KOMMUNIST, 25 Apr 87) .....	10
Goals of Election Propaganda Explained (KOMMUNIST, 7 Apr 87) .....	10

Law on Peoples Deputies Published in Azeri (KOMMUNIST, 8 Apr 87) .....	11
Local Media Stress Restructuring (KOMMUNIST, 14 Apr 87) .....	11
Congress of Uzbek Znaniye Society 'Self Critical' (PRAVDA VOSTOKA, 22 Apr 87) .....	12
HISTORY, PHILOSOPHY	
Truthful Account of Latvian History Demanded (A. Drizulis; CINA, 9 Jun 87) .....	15
Azeri Economic Thought Traced to Earliest Times (A. Alasgarov; KOMMUNIST, 29 Apr 87) .....	19
RELIGION	
Nearing Millenium Prompts Christianization of Rus Discussion (MOSCOW NEWS, No 29, 26 Jul-2 Aug 87) .....	20
Religious Anti-Soviet Propaganda in Lithuania Scored (Yuozas Yermalavichyus; KOMMUNIST, No 5, May 87) .....	23
Saidbayev on 'Exaggerated' Islamic Infrastructure in Central Asia (Talib Saidbayev; LITERATURNAYA GAZETA, No 24, 10 Jun 87) .....	27
Pilgrimages on Rise in Darganata Rayon (I. Rozumbayev; SOVET TURKMENISTANY, 7 May 87) .....	29
Muslim Socialism 'Not Socialism' (G. Kerimov; SOVET TURKMENISTANY, 24 May 87) .....	29
CULTURE	
Activities, Meetings of 'Pamyat' Group Assessed (Anatoliy Golovkov, Aleksey Pavlov; OGONEK, No 21, May 87) ....	30
Measures for Historic Preservation Recommended (T. Nechayeva; IZVESTIYA, 14 May 87) .....	37
OGONEK Gives Facts on Angleterre Destruction (Oleg Petrichenko; OGONEK, No 20, May 87) .....	40
Public Reaction to Razing of Historic Inn Discussed (Yu. Novikov; LENINGRADSKAYA PRAVDA, 12 Apr 87) .....	48
Artists' Union Poses Barriers for Young Members (A. Morozov; KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA, 17 May 87) .....	52

Belorussian Writer of War Novels Interviewed (Vasil Vladimirovich Bykov Interview; OGONEK, No 19, May 87)	55
Azeri Prose Collection Published in Turkey (KOMMUNIST, 16 Apr 87)	67
Azerbaijan Theater Workers Union Founded (KOMMUNIST, 19 Apr 87)	67

#### SOCIAL ISSUES

Moscow Officials Admit Shortcomings in Fighting Drug Abuse (A. Illesh, Ye. Shestinskiy; IZVESTIYA, 10 Jul 87)	68
Justice Officials Debate Legal Reform, Judicial Errors (V. Vodolazhskiy, V. Gatov; NEDEL'YA, No 27, 6-12 Jul 87)	73
Baku Institute Abuses Revealed; Institute To Close (V. Ryashin; PRAVDA, 15 Jul 87)	82
'Independent' Secondary Schools Highlighted (I. Mayylov; KOMMUNIST, 21 Apr 87)	87
School Director Describes Bureaucratic Conflicts (Zahid Shoyubov; KOMMUNIST, 4 Apr 87)	87
New Cooperative Law To Reduce Unearned Income (A. Afandiyev Interview; KOMMUNIST, 9 Apr 87)	88
Shortcomings Noted in Planning, Use of Recreational Facilities (R. Rafizade, B. Asadov; KOMMUNIST, 9 Apr 87)	88
Tasks of Rectors' Council Outlined (F. Baghyrzade; KOMMUNIST, 10 Apr 87)	88
More Space Studies Clubs Urged for Youth (T. Ismayylov; KOMMUNIST, 12 Apr 87)	89
Efforts Made To Prevent Cheating of Consumers (KOMMUNIST, 2 Apr 87)	87
Formation of National Oversight Board on Environmental Urged (V. Petrov; PRAVDA, 20 Apr 87)	90
IZVESTIYA Interviews Fire Protection Chief (Anatoliy Kuzmich Mikeyev Interview; IZVESTIYA, 17 Jun 87)	94
Valuable Icons Stolen From Latvian Churches (I. Karpov; SOVETSKAYA LATVIYA, 29 May 87)	98

#### REGIONAL ISSUES

Punishment Meted Out for Latvian Plane Hijacking (SOVETSKAYA LATVIYA, 5 Jun 87)	100
--	-----



'Ambiguous Truths' Blamed for Latvian Youth Demonstration

(Janis Peters; LITERATURA UN MAKSLA, 1 May 87) .....

102

/9986

PARTY, STATE AFFAIRS

PRAVDA FINDS PARTY OFFICIAL WHO STILL OPPOSES GLASNOST

Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 19 Jun 87 p 3

[Article by PRAVDA correspondent V. Shalgunov: "Why Turn the Binoculars Around? How Glasnost is Perceived in the Raykom"; first four paragraphs are source introduction]

[Text] Kuybyshev Oblast--The case is unusual. At the Krasnoyarskiy party raykom plenum the floor was given to Central Television. However, this was not a surprise for the people assembled at the Palace of Culture: the day before, the rayon newspaper had announced that Saturday, May 23, the program "Discussion on Substance" would discuss the restructuring of local soviets' work and would show themes from the life of the rayon.

So, the speaker, the raykom's first secretary V. Shevyakov left the podium and appeared on the screen.

Several minutes later, Viktor Stepanovich would tell the plenum participants: "We do not have such problems. However, I propose to condemn the forbidden methods used by the Central Television.

And on Monday, N. Sokolova, who among the other rayon residents appeared on the screen, was invited to the raykom.

The discussion in the first secretary's office began, as it appeared, quite properly, with Viktor Stepanovich even inquiring about her health. However, as the almost three-hour discussion continued, the dialogue became sharper, and the reason for the unexpected invitation became clearer to Natalya Aleksandrovna. The raykom's secretary was clearly unhappy with her position. He touched on the TV program itself only slightly, but nevertheless made a rebuke: before you made your thoughts public, you should have asked the advice of the raykom. To that, Natalya Aleksandrovna, being a straight person, responded with self-esteem: "I expressed my personal viewpoint as a communist and a voter. I could not remain quiet after hearing the speeches of some of our other deputies.

What was it that set Natalya Aleksandrovna "afire" as she calls it? This is the answer. She, the director of a printing house and the secretary of a joint party organization that also includes communists from the rayon

newspaper, was invited to attend a meeting of the rayon's residents, which was organized in response to the Central Television request. The reason for this were the numerous letters to Central Television, criticizing leading rayon authorities. In addition, when speaking in front of cameras, simple working people had said many sharp words addressed to certain leaders-deputies, thus confirming the letters. What did they hear in response? The chairman of the Zavety Lenina kolkhoz A. Syrkin, secretary of the Krasnoye Znamya kolkhoz's partkom A. Volynkin, and the director of the Krasnoyarskiy sovkhos V. Svechnikov did not spare words glorifying the first secretary of the raykom and his closest associates.

The chairman of the rayplan A. Verigin tried in a hurry to support these praises with numerical data. The former chairman of the rayon committee of people's control N. Nurullin, who specially arrived from Kuibyshev where he lives in retirement, added a drop of criticism addressed to the previous leading authorities, but immediately glorified the "epoch of renaissance." However, the principal of the Volzhskaya high school F. Nashivan surpassed everybody by saying directly to the rayon's leaders: "You do not save yourselves, comrades, you give too much energy to the work."

Such a "reproach" from a deputy of the raysoviet, who was representing at this meeting a functioning settlement that does not have a public bath or a store in the new microrayon, and where the public lunch program is extremely poorly organized!

Later, I asked Viktor Stepanovich how he had felt listening to the obvious and excessive flattery, and why he had not interrupted the overflow of praise.

"Yes, this was not too proper," admitted the secretary of the raykom. "But why did they not talk first on TV about our successes? They could show our shortcomings later."

Ah, this criticism in doses always lurking behind the triumphant reports and the bold self-accounts! The notion of a sharp, objective word only as a counter-weight to an optimistic picture of universal well-being has penetrated the consciousness of some people so deeply. The age of glasnost has already started, and one can say that this is the dawn of a new day of social consciousness, but some people are so strongly against getting rid of the habits.

Of course, Natalya Aleksandrovna knows the rayon's achievements: increased milk production and new construction. She knows and highly appreciates the efforts of her fellow-countrymen. But is now the right time to be overly proud? How much more just resentment against the abuses of different officials, against the unsettled state of humans, and against various shortcomings does the mail bring to the rayon newspaper? Was this an opportunity to exchange compliments under the eye of the camera, when among the complaints that led to this program, there was a letter from several voters who beforehand refused to participate in the forthcoming elections. And the discussion was diverted shamelessly to the other, "show-off" side. Therefore, Natalya Aleksandrovna was "set afire" when she felt the danger of returning to the old way of life.

And now the talk with the secretary of the raykom. Viktor Stepanovich asks: "Where did you get the facts concerning the Kommunar sovkhoz?"

And what can I say? Already in the beginning of the year, the newspaper had published an article by the rayon procurator V. Mishenev, where it was clearly stated that "the administration and the profkom of the Kommunar sovkhoz bypassing existing law had entered on the waiting list for improving housing conditions for all personnel who submitted applications, and additionally created a special waiting list for obtaining cottages. However, even this illegal waiting list was not observed. Thus, V. Ivanov, who was No. 58 on the list received an apartment based on the joint decision of the profkom and the administration." It was somewhat awkward to remind the first secretary about an article in the raykom's publication, and Natalya Aleksandrovna said: "It is from life and from party meetings that I get my information." Viktor Stepanovich continued: "But have you received any letters from the Kommunar?"

Soon she understood that the question was not accidental. The raykom's instructors L. Zhdanova and A. Tarakanov came to the letters desk of the editor's office. At the same time, deputy director A. Stepanov was with the rayispolkom chairman V. Ignatyev, who asked him to prepare a report about the editor's mail. They discussed the same TV program, and Aleksandr Dmitriyevich came back to his office in an excited mood. Initially, he was somewhat afraid that he, who participated in the program, but was not seen together with N. Sokolova, may be in trouble somewhere else. And now, the relief: everything had been settled. Therefore, he talked with L. Zhdanova ironically and somewhat freely, saying that there is no need to do double work: the report concerning the letters will go to the rayispolkom. Lidiya Aleksandrovna was offended and left the editor's office.

When he later met her in raykom, he asked whether she was still offended.

She answered: "No! Everything is settled. Stepanov has apologized."

However, the leadership of the raykom unexpectedly turned the insignificant and easily resolvable conflict into a significant event.

A. Stepanov, who was during these days replacing editor P. Grossman, absent on a business trip, was called to the bureau meeting together with Natalya Aleksandrovna. She was sick and could not come. The discussion concerned the work of the collective, which Stepanov had joined one year ago. Why the members of the buro could not postpone the discussion of this "hot" problem for a day or two until the editor returned, remained unclear. And they discussed the moral and political climate in the journalistic community and the mutual relations between the newspaper and the raykom.

The most important comments zeroed in on one point: the successes achieved by the rayon do not cause legitimate satisfaction among the journalists. V. Shevyakov summed up the discussion in the following way: "I think that we must punish the comrades for the collapse of inspection."



However, the punishment somehow did not take place. It was decided to discuss this event at the open party meeting, where the final assessment would be given.

One could be happy with the attention of the party raykom toward its newspaper, but one question bothers us: why such a stormy splash of attention occurred literally within a week after the program "Discussion on Substance," when nothing similar had happened for years. In addition, the newspaper was the winner of many journalistic competitions in the oblast, and was in good repute with the party obkom. It turns out that in your own "backyard," criticism can be tolerated, but when the partorg of the editor's office speaks to the entire country, the "screws must be tightened."

During the long discussion with V. Shevyakov and V. Ignatyev, I also raised this question. Both rejected any link between the program and the "interviews" that had followed. Is this true?

Let us go back to the plenum, where the report concerning the tasks of the rayon party organization with regard to the implementation of the January CPSU Central Committee Plenum decisions "On Restructuring and Party Cadres Policy" was supplemented by the local themes shown by Central Television.

Here, a two-story house occupied by only the promkombinat director M. Fomin and his wife, and the solidly built cottages of other leaders appeared for a moment. And after these frames, a half-disintegrated farm, a house for the milkers of the sovkhos imeni Dzerzhinskiy that has needed repair for a long time now, and the streets of the rayon center which have not been brought to a decent condition in 15 years. It was the sharp contrast which caused people to think!

I was told in the raykom that many families of workers now live in cottages. True. Social justice is entering our lives at an even steadier pace. However, what were the workers of the promkombinat, where the working conditions could not possibly be worse, thinking when they saw the house of their director?

The program was over. The speaker took the podium again. What would he say, how would he comment on the program just shown? We know already that "forbidden methods" were used during filming. In addition, the following was included in the report:

"Today, certain people, under the banner of restructuring, instead of providing feasible help, try to see everything through reversed binoculars with black lenses. When they express their opinion, they present it as the only correct one, without taking advice from either the primary party organization, or from the collective in which they live and work. In addition, petitions are sent to the highest authorities, thus causing a tremendous number of people to check the same facts again and again."

M. Tuzlayev, the director of the same sovkhos imeni Dzerzhinskiy which had been just shown on the screen, is on the podium. Mikhail Mikhaylovich's theme sounds like this: the selection of participants by Central Television was

biased, they are dissidents (?!), and they only slander others. Look how it turned around! ...

Nobody infringes on the certain economic successes achieved in the rayon under, of course, the leadership of the party raykom. However, to shield themselves from criticism with these successes is also wrong.

How could Viktor Stepanovich not notice that the audience became dead silent when he mentioned the name of former director of the Volzhskaya production and technical support and equipment supply base, G. Braslavskiy, among the people who had been expelled from the party. Not long ago, he had been presented on the rayon party podium as an example of an experienced organizer, and had been shielded from criticism, when in fact he was abusing his official position ...

Following the raykom's example, certain secretaries of partkoms try to protect their "regimental honor." After the delegate to the 27th CPSU Congress, milker of the Krasnoye Znamya kolkhoz N. Yelistratova had told in the rayon newspaper about the shortcomings at the farm, the partkom secretary A. Volynkin did not spare any effort in disproving the criticism. As to Nina Petrovna herself, she immediately learned that she had a big problem. Did the raykom say a single word to defend the honest worker? No, this word never was said.

And on May 23, the newspaper published a tiny report on the meeting of the rayon people's control committee concerning violations of discipline by the staff of the Agropromtrans intereconomic transport enterprise." And immediately, deputy director A. Stepanov was called "on the carpet" in the office of the first secretary.

It remains for us to return to the eloquent expression from the report at the podium. Nobody will argue that the lenses in the binoculars must be clean in order to provide depth and accuracy of observation, and it is not worth it to turn the binoculars around, because then one may lose the objectivity of vision.

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CSO: 1800/705



KIRGHIZ DEPUTY RECALLED BY VOTERS FOR RECORD OF ABUSES

Moscow MOSCOW NEWS in English No 26, 5-12 Jul 87 p 8

[Article by Kadyr Omurkulov]

[Text]

A few days ago the newspaper **Sovetskaya Kirghizia** reported the resolution of the district electoral committee to recall a deputy to the Supreme Soviet of the Kirghiz SSR.

THE DEPUTY concerned is A. Karypkulov, former secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Kirghizia. In December 1985, he was removed from his post "for serious shortcomings in work". By abusing his official position, he "conducted to the violation of norms of Party life, Leninist principles of selection and placing of personnel. Displaying servility and unscrupulousness, he promoted a number of people to leading posts on the basis of family ties, people who were his countrymen or personally devoted to him". The documents of a special Party investigation also mentioned other actions of Karypkulov incompatible with legal and moral standards.

Being a secretary of the Central Committee and, before that, science department head for more than ten years, he initiated promotion to high scientific posts in the Republican Academy of Sciences of people who did not meet the requirements of its rules. Karypkulov saw to it that the academic rank of professor was conferred upon his wife. Later, it was annulled by the Higher Degree Commission. With his consent a department was specially set up at the Kirghiz State University for the pro-rector of training by correspondence - the son of former First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Republican Communist Party. This

department was also later abolished. Karypkulov took care of himself, too. Having only an insignificant number of research papers to his credit, he was elected Corresponding Member of the Republican Academy of Sciences. When he was promoted to this academic rank, other leading scientists, under biased pretexts, were kept from participating in the competition. Making use of his official position he signed contracts with the Kirghizia Publishers 18 times and pocketed high royalties.

There were no indifferent people or people who kept mum at the Party meeting of the Frunze Polytechnical Institute in October 1986. Passions ran high at the meeting which discussed fixing up Karypkulov as a senior teacher in this institute. Communists were unanimous in supporting the proposal to expel him from the Party.

In fact, the whole collective backed the Communists. Especially expressive was the students' boycott of his lectures - their way of voicing protest. The teaching career of the corresponding member lasted only a year.

At the above-mentioned Party meeting the question on the deputy status of Karypkulov was put bluntly: can a man who has compromised himself, asked the Communists, be favoured with this high title? The

question whether to recall the deputy was submitted to the Republic's Supreme Soviet. As a result a decree on taking a vote in the corresponding electoral district was issued. Karypkulov thought that the electorate would not recall him but that he had the right to remain a deputy.

At the meeting of the electorate, incidentally, the inhabitants of Internationalnoye village, collective farmers, cattle-farm workers, teachers, pensioners, machine operators, all those who at the last elections voted for him, asked how such moral degeneration, the civic degradation of an individual, could happen.

"If I were you, I would be ashamed," said teacher Alexandra Kornetskaya, labour veteran with a 30-year service record. "If you have to answer for it, you must behave honestly, not dodge and justify yourself. You are appealing to us voters, but what can we say about you when, since the elections, we have never even seen you. All our mandates to you have remained poised in mid-air and none of them has been fulfilled."

This was the first and last meeting of Karypkulov with the electorate. Others he simply did not dare attend. Out of 6,234 people present at 54 meetings 6,231 voted for recalling him as a deputy and only three abstained.

These were the results of voting. But much deeper was the moral lesson given in the Kant district.

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CSO: 1812/0257

CADRE PROBLEMS IN AGROINDUSTRIAL COMMITTEE HIGHLIGHTED

[Editorial Report] Baku KOMMUNIST in Azeri on 10 April 1987 carries on page 2 a 1600-word article by N. Mammadov, deputy chairman of the AzSSR State Agroindustrial Committee, under the rubric "The Agroindustrial Committee: Work With Cadres." He notes that the leaderships of some organizations subordinate to the committee are not studying the work, political, spiritual, and cultural qualities of potential leadership cadres in depth. "As a result, individuals are hired who lack the experience and relevant knowledge for leadership duties; they are poorly trained and have a poor understanding of economic issues--they are unsuited for leadership. This irresponsible approach to the selection and training of leadership cadres leads to frequent turnover and transfers from one place to another. Last year alone 165 leadership workers were changed, 66 percent of whom were unable to do their jobs."

AGRICULTURAL MANAGEMENT IN NAKHCHYVAN FAULTED

[Editorial Report] Baku KOMMUNIST in Azeri on 21 April 1987 carries on page 2 a 1000-word article by T. Aliyev on problems in agricultural management in the Nakhchivan ASSR headlined "We Must Make the Transition From Words to Concrete Action." He reports that "the Council of Ministers of the autonomous republic has not adopted an active stance in fulfilling party and government decrees on expediting the development of the agroindustrial complex and its processing and preserving base. O. Mammadov, chairman of the Nakhchivan ASSR Gosplan and his deputy, Kh. Naghyeva, are allowing subjectivism in the resolution of important questions of proportional development in various sectors of agroindustry. This mistaken work style is creating obstacles to activating sources and potential, and to making proper use of resources being applied to the sector's development."

MORE RESPONSIBILITIES URGED FOR NON-PARTY MEMBERS

[Editorial Report] Baku KOMMUNIST in Azeri on 25 April 1987 carries on page 3 an 1800-word compilation of letters sent to KOMMUNIST by readers headlined "On the Road to Restructuring: Openness, Democracy, Criticism and Self-Criticism" containing a reader's suggestion that the roles of non-party members in management be upgraded. V. Seyidov, an economist from Yevlakh Rayon, claims: "No matter how good a worker you are, if you are not a party member you have no responsibility. This has been the case up to now. But the January plenum changed the attitude toward this question." He adds that "there are those

among us who are not communists but who are still honest individuals with organizational talent and good skills."

#### BETTER LEADERSHIP DEMANDED IN ALL SECTORS

[Editorial Report] Baku KOMMUNIST in Azeri on 28 April 1987 carries on page 1 a 1000-word lead editorial headlined "In the Family of Fraternal Peoples" on the occasion of the 67th anniversary of the establishment of a Soviet government in Azerbaijan. It points out that "revolutionary changes are occurring in our country. The strategy of acceleration and structuring demands a strengthening of controls providing for openness at work, criticism and self-criticism. Party and soviet organizations and economic organs are obliged to improve the level of leadership over the economy and social structure from the ground up. We cannot forget that the elimination of negative situations such as the serious shortcomings which have accumulated in every sector, inertia, the exaggeration of achievements, and deception will open up the way for restructuring.

/12913

CSO: 1831/419

#### AFGHAN, IRAQI MEDIA DISCUSS SOVIET AZERBAIJAN

[Editorial Report] Baku KOMMUNIST in Azeri on 21 April 1987 carries on page 4 a 300-word report by Rovshan Valiyev headlined "In the Pages of the Foreign Press: Our Friends Write About Azerbaijan" on recent statements in Afghan and Iraqi media about Azerbaijan. Noting that "press organs of the Afghanistan Democratic Republic regularly include interesting articles about the peoples of the USSR, and their literature, fine arts, and national composition," two Afghan press organs, VATAN and the official press organ of the Afghan Radio and Television Committee, are cited with regard to their positive statements about the AzSSR. In addition, AKHBAR, a Dari and Pushtu monthly published jointly by the Afghan News Agency and the Press Agency for News about the Soviet Union, also published an article about the economic life and literature of Soviet Azerbaijan. It was further noted that "in the journal there are also articles about Muslims living in Soviet Azerbaijan." Quotations from the Baghdad newspaper YURD on Soviet Azeri literature are also given.

#### DOCUMENT COLLECTION HIGHLIGHTS AZERI-RUSSIAN AMITY

[Editorial Report] Baku KOMMUNIST in Azeri on 25 April 1987 carries on page 2 a 500-word Azerinform report announcing the publication of the first volume of a two-volume collection of documents "on the historical friendship between the Russian and Azeri people" headlined "Eternal Brothers." Documents in the first volume trace the relationship of the two peoples from the ninth century to 1922. "It is clear from the documents included in the book that the unification of Northern Azerbaijan to Russia was an event of global significance for the fate of the Azeri people and was a turning point which defined Azerbaijan's subsequent development in social, economic, political, and cultural life."

#### GOALS OF ELECTION PROPAGANDA EXPLAINED

[Editorial Report] Baku KOMMUNIST in Azeri on 7 April 1987 carries on page 1 a 1000-word lead editorial headlined "Just Before Elections to the Soviets" urging a renovation of agitation and propaganda work done during the election campaigns. "Electoral zones must become the center of the agitation and propaganda work conducted among the electorate. We must approach agitation work with higher demands and definitively refrain from using its antiquated, less influential and effective forms; we must talk with the people in a sincere and lively manner and conduct discussions on the achievements of the

land of the Soviets, our society and republic, on the basis of concrete facts. It is important that all social groups of the population receive clear and precise information about the goals of the party's domestic and foreign policies and the nature of the steps taken to strengthen our country's economic and defense capabilities."

#### LAW ON PEOPLES DEPUTIES PUBLISHED IN AZERI

[Editorial Report] Baku KOMMUNIST in Azeri on 8 April 1987 carries on page 3 a 100-word Azerinform report headlined "In the Azeri Language" announcing the publication of the "Analysis of the Law on the Status of Peoples Deputies in the USSR" (Yuridicheskaya Literatura, Moscow). It is the first publication of this work in Azeri. "In the book normative documents, decrees passed by party and soviet organs on the basis of the law on soviets are generalized, and the rights and responsibilities of peoples representatives are analyzed in detail." The book is directed at workers in local soviets, higher school teachers, and students.

#### LOCAL MEDIA STRESS RESTRUCTURING

[Editorial Report] Baku KOMMUNIST in Azeri on 14 April 1987 carries on page 3 a 1000-word report compiled by KOMMUNIST's press department describing changes occurring in local media resulting from the policy of restructuring; the report is headlined "More Concrete, More Active..." The newspapers under discussion are SOSIALIST SUMGAYTY (Sumgait) and AKINCHI (Zardab Rayon). SOSIALIST SUMGAYTY has added a number of new columns: "We are fulfilling the Decrees of the January Plenum of the Central Committee CPSU"; "Party Life: Restructuring Is Proceeding"; "On the Road to Restructuring"; "Acceleration: How Is Work Going Under the New Rules?"; and "This Was Discussed at the January Plenum of the CPSU." AKINCHI also added new columns in a similar vein but, as noted by KOMMUNIST, has yet to restructure its own work. Its articles are often superficial; and filled with slogans.

/12913

CSO: 1831/418



CONGRESS OF UZBEK ZNANIYE SOCIETY 'SELF CRITICAL'

Tashkent PRAVDA VOSTOKA in Russian 22 Apr 87 p 1

[UzTAG report on the 10th Congress of the Uzbek SSR Znaniye Society: "Popularize Restructuring, Shape New Thinking in People"]

[Text] The 27th CPSU Congress has raised bold, revolutionary tasks before Soviet society. Many things must be done to achieve wide popularization of the innovative Party policy and the mobilization of the working masses in order to realize the program of acceleration of social-economic development in this country. An important role in shaping new thinking in people and in increasing their labor and civic activity must be played by propaganda through lectures as well as other methods of ideological influence.

The tasks of radically improving the activities of all links of the UzSSR Znaniye Society chain, and the ways of reconstructing its work in light of the 27th party congress and the January 1987 CPSU Central Committee Plenum decisions were discussed at the 10th congress of the republic society.

At the congress, a self-critical analysis of the work accomplished by the more than 100,000-strong army of lecturers for the past five years was made. Their input into the struggle for the resolution of the problems of restructuring and acceleration received an impartial assessment. It was mentioned that even though the propaganda through lectures was improved somewhat recently, it still poorly directs the consciousness of the working masses toward overcoming in the shortest possible time the results of negative phenomena, and poorly arms the working masses with understanding the necessity for renovating all aspects of our lives.

Until recently, stagnation, attempts to make the actual situation look better than it is, and lack of touch with the needs of the times, were involved in the work of the organization. Scheduling was at a low level, and the obsolete forms of work were slowing down ideological support for the realization of national economic plans. Attempts to hush up the negative phenomena were undermining the trust of the people toward the lecturers. All these facts were considered frankly and without compromises at the Uzbek CP Central Committee Buro meeting. To correct these mistakes, radical measures were adopted: the total managerial staff of the administrative board was replaced, and more attention now is being paid to the effectiveness of propaganda through

lectures, lecture preparation techniques, and revitalization of the work of the society's primary organizations.

However, as was mentioned by the speakers, the restructuring which had been started in the republic apparatus of the society has not brought the necessary results as of yet. The times require new approaches toward the themes and contents of propagandistic activities. It was noted that lectures which are not related to life and do not reveal the essence of problems important to people will never arouse interest. Even more, such lectures are simply harmful. There are still plenty of such expressionless monologues which demonstrate the low qualifications of the propagandists. In spite of the fact that as a result of the certification process, the number of lecturers in the republic has been reduced by 51,000, requests to continue certification have been raised again at Tashkent and Andizhan, Bukhara, and Khorezem oblast conferences. Let there be fewer people who will bring the word of the Party to the masses. But let their presentations cause discussions and disputes, and help the listeners reach the right conclusions and find the right way to resolve urgent problems.

Life requires propaganda through lectures to be closely connected with the main task: the program of accelerating the social-economical development of the republic and intensifying production. The low productivity and low quality of products in Uzbekistan, the poor use of the economic potential and labor resources are justly criticized again and again. How can these problems be resolved using propaganda through lectures? The Znaniye Society can help the working masses to master modern economic and scientific-technical knowledge, the science of management, and advanced experience in labor organization, which are necessary in the struggle for the intensification of production. The new system of economic operations, State acceptance, and other problems of developing economics and social relations, must become constant themes in the presentations by lecturers.

The importance of preparing qualified lecturers' cadres, including those selected from the young people, and the fact that few scientists, college professors, and representatives of literature and the arts are involved in lecture presentations, were discussed at the Congress. For example, the primary organization of the Znaniye Society at Nukus University has 240 members. During six months last year, they presented only 31 lecture.

It is necessary to strengthen the lecturers' corps with people who are theoretically and professionally prepared, who fully perceive the pulse of the time, and who are capable of propagandizing effectively the Party's policy.

The congress' delegates stressed that the necessity of scientific management of propaganda through lectures has become imminent. Ideological work produces results only when it is built on the accurate assessment of interests of the social groups and of the individual person. The poor preparation of lectures in villages, the need of eliminating didactics from discussions with young people, and the need to discuss openly negative phenomena, to disclose their nature, and to show ways to overcome them, were specifically noted. It is important to use energetically the possibilities of propaganda through

lectures in the fight against drunkenness, alcoholism, drug use, expression of petty bourgeois and consumer psychology, and religious vestiges.

Much work is to be carried out by the society's units in executing the tasks proposed in the CPSU Central Committee draft "The Basic Directions of Restructuring the System of Political and Economic Education of Workers."

The problems of shaping in the population of the republic, especially in the young people, the feeling of the proletarian, socialist internationalism, and Soviet patriotism, and improving Russian language study, must be at the center of attention. We must skillfully show the triumph of Lenin's national policy with live examples. Preparation for the 70th anniversary of the Great October presents splendid opportunities for this.

In order to improve the activity of the society's primary organizations, we should increase methodological work, and widen the use of modern technical means. The activity of the people's universities requires constant attention.

An organizational plenum of the Uzbek SSR Znaniye Society Board elected by the congress took place. P.K. Khabibullayev, president of the UzSSR Academy of Sciences, corresponding member of the USSR Academy of Sciences, was elected chairman of the Board. S.S. Saickasimov was elected first deputy chairman, and V.P. Ponomareva, S.P. Tursunmukhamedov, and T.S. Yuldashbayev were elected deputy chairmen. Kh.U. Zufarov was elected the scientific secretary of the society.

A meeting of the auditing commission of the UzSSR Znaniye Society took place. M.I. Murakayev was elected the commission's chairman.

13355

CSO: 1830/580

TRUTHFUL ACCOUNT OF LATVIAN HISTORY DEMANDED

Riga CINA in Latvian 9 Jun 87 p 2

[Article by A. Drizulis, vice president of the Latvian SSR Academy of Sciences: "Restructuring the Science of History"]

[Excerpts] From the very beginning socialism, whose history we are researching, has found its roots in Bolshevik truth, in the genius of Lenin, and, as testified by the entire practice and experience of its making, cannot function normally without the truth. The least digression from it has led to deformations in the basic principles of socialism, stagnation, regression, and even to the tragedy of millions of people, causing the greatest embitterment. Neither in economics nor in politics, nor in all of social life--from international relations to the upbringing of man--can one manage without the truth.

There is not a single branch of the social sciences where restructuring is not necessary. This conclusion was the chief one at a conference of representatives of the social sciences recently held in Moscow, at which the report was delivered by A. Yakovlev, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo, a CPSU Central Committee secretary. I participated at this conference and am able to say that the theory and strategy of restructuring the social sciences was given in the report as well as the demands which the party advances to us as specialists in the social sciences at a time in which society is undergoing a revolutionary transformation.

In my opinion, restructuring in science demands a critical review and analysis of everything accomplished hitherto, not, however, rejecting and throwing aside all the undoubtedly positive which science has achieved previously; but, at the same time, not leaving without attention the silent omission of many facts and problems, endeavoring in every possible way to restore the historical truth from the position of a true adherence to party principles and a class approach. One may not alter history, but it is possible and also necessary to evaluate it anew, to understand more deeply the causes and the character of historical events. Such an attitude toward history enables the consolidation of mutual trust between professional historians and all who take an interest in history. This was taken into account by the collective of authors which wrote the "History of the Latvian SSR", published last year in two volumes, and which prepared a textbook for senior pupils. With quite good reason we regard that a struggle against the bourgeois falsifiers of history



is necessary, because there are indeed not a few sins and downright lies on their consciences. But, you see, what a paradox--quite frequently we ourselves with our works and publications are putting trump-cards into their hands. Thus, for example, the question about publishing here of the text of the addendum to the nonaggression pact between the USSR and Germany of 1939, the so-called "Molotov-Ribbentrop" protocol, still has not been decided, although it has been widely published abroad, and our silence creates an opportunity for various anti-Soviet speculations on the subject of the historical destinies of the Baltic peoples.

Formerly, guided by considerations of momentary conjuncture, we have quite easily either "smoothed over" history as a whole or have kept silence about many events. But as soon as we kept silent, hostile propaganda immediately broke into this zone of silence, using history as a means to influence the consciousness of the people. However, one must consider that the so-called "white patches" in history are not only the bad or the tragic in the past of our people, but also that which has not yet been researched or has been researched little. The present-time circumstances of openness give us an opportunity to eliminate those "white patches," formerly, in the instances where we tried to take into account objectively all factors and to give a truthful assessment of the phenomena of history--but the course of history is not as smooth as it appears to some--we always encountered on our way invisible signs of prohibition or we inescapably experienced unpleasant consequences.

At the end of the 1950's, the authors of the third volume of the "History of the Latvian SSR," evaluating collectivization in our republic as a great achievement for agriculture and for the national economy as a whole, pointed out several shortcomings, difficulties, and unsolved tasks, emphasizing that the further development of the republic's agriculture and collectivization itself could not proceed easily without complications. Naturally, such an opinion did not gain the support of adherents of non-conflict history. One more example. At the end of the 1960's, in the single-volume "History of the Latvian SSR" (abridged), its authors, telling about the events of the Great Fatherland War, wrote about the prewar situation: "It was only necessary to arrange the troops into battle readiness and to distribute the forces in a thoughtful manner. But these undertakings were not carried out in good time, despite that the Red Army command had information about the concentration of German troops at the USSR borders." And further: "The situation of the Red Army was also worsened by a lack of experienced commanding cadres (especially of higher ones). Many of them were destroyed in the groundless mass repressions of 1937-1938." Talking about the 24th Rifle Corps, which was formed on the basis of the Latvian People's Army, the authors noted: "But in carrying out demobilization, frequent exaggerations were permitted. The distrust, characteristic of the circumstances of the personality cult of Stalin, was extended to many officers and soldiers who wished to remain in the Red Army ranks. Because of this demobilization and also because of the great losses at the end of July, the 24th Rifle Corps actually ceased to exist as a Latvian national unit." All this was told rather cursorily and inadequately, but, nevertheless, these and also some other similar assessments were at an

appreciable dissonance with the generally accepted smoothed over history of the time.

Even at present there is no shortage of difficult questions in history, demanding an honest ascertaining of the facts of the past from the historian. This applies as well to the groundless repressions of 1937. And has the time not come to analyze more deeply our losses in the Great Fatherland War--the 20 million figure which has been given to us by Stalin. Who knows precisely how many Soviet soldiers and officers perished in the battles and encirclements of our troops in 1941-1942?

Recently, in a documentary film chronicle containing sequences of broadcasts of Central and Latvian television, Y. Gagarin could be seen reporting, but to whom cannot be seen. The older generation still remembers what took place, but what should the young people think? Why should they solve riddles? Commentaries are superfluous here. Such a subjective approach forbids looking the truth in the face; but history demands truth.

The time arrived long ago to give a party-principled and objective characterization of the lives and activities of J. Stalin, N. Khrushchev, L. Brezhnev and other party and state workers.

As soon as disrespect toward our history appears, in connection both with the events of the Great Fatherland War and also with several other periods of history, immediately a vacuum is formed which is filled by foreign bourgeois, emigre, or social reformists' historiography. And these directions of historiography, although externally objective, most often treat our prerevolutionary, and all the more, Soviet history in a deliberately distorted manner, in the spirit of anti-communism.

The appeals which have appeared in the pages of our press publications to publish anew the works of the historians of the past--Karamzin, Solovyev, and Kluchevskiy--can be attributed to incompetence in the science of history. There are others who propose publishing the works of the bourgeois historian Svabe, about whom it is said a biographical dictionary published in fascist Latvia in 1939 that in his "researches he has viewed and evaluated the past in the spirit of Latvian nationalism." It is clear that the forbidden fruit always appears sweeter, therefore various restrictions must be cancelled. Let our historians read the works of historians of the past which are in the libraries--I am convinced that they themselves will be able to glean knowledge. But something else is causing amazement--no voices are heard asking for repeat publications of early Marxist works on history. Obviously this may be ascribed to the new generation of Soviet historians who are unfamiliar with these works.

As is known, V.I. Lenin highly valued the "Latvian Peasant," a work by F. Rozins--the first Marxist work, in which the history of former relationships in the Baltic region is investigated. It was originally published in Riga in 1906, and published anew in 1920. The "Page From History of Peasantry," with an introduction by P. Stucka, was published in Russian in 1925 (5,000 copies).



Professor J. Zutis edited the final publication (2,000 copies). Has the time not arrived to publish a small library consisting of works which from a Marxist-Leninist viewpoint would illuminate the most significant and complicated problems of history and to publish regularly the early Marxist works on Latvian history? Recently a valuable, although small in volume, collection of documents and materials, the "Restoration of Soviet Power in Latvia and the Incorporation of the Latvian SSR Into the USSR" was published in Russian, but with a very small number of copies--2,000--printed. As is known, a collection of documents, the "Victory of the Socialist Revolution in Latvia in 1940" was published in Latvian in 1963 with a volume of 47 printer's sheet and 1,500 copies printed. Emigre publications have not been able to contradict the material in this collection; they have quite simply "kept silent" about it because it is not possible to deny indisputable facts of history. Although resolutions were adopted, it is not known why the collection of documents has not been published in Russian. Moreover, it has already become a bibliographic rarity unknown to extensive circles of readers. Thus, as a result, stories about the events of 1940, which are subversively composed and spread by hostile "radio voices" still circulate.

A pressing demand of the era is to make the materials of the special funds of libraries and archives more accessible to specialists of social sciences and historians. It is necessary to cleanse history of various distortions and deformations, to return civic spirit, honesty, and courage to it, and to place more trust in the researcher himself, who if he has made a mistake somewhere, should not be labeled but rather criticized scientifically. Irresponsibility, superficial analysis of facts of history, negligence, and obsolete stock phrases, which there are unfortunately far too many of in the science of history, must be eliminated. This, to my mind, is the essence of restructuring the science of history. to that the party calls us.

/6662

CSO: 1808/037

## AZERI ECONOMIC THOUGHT TRACED TO EARLIEST TIMES

[Editorial Report] Baku KOMMUNIST in Azeri on 29 April 1987 carries on page 4 a 700-review by Professor A. Alasgarov, deputy director for scientific affairs of the Institute of Economics of the Azerbaijan SSR Academy of Sciences, of the collection of essays "Essays on the History of Azeri Economic Thought" (in Russian) published by Azarnashr; the review is headlined "New Book: Historical Essays on Economic Thought in Azerbaijan." The essays cover the period from the 12th century onward to the spread of Marxism. The reviewer claims that prominent Azeri economists began to "search for ways to resolve the worsening of the abnormalities of the time and its socioeconomic contradictions. In this context, the economic analysis of questions like Nasimi's concept of man, Khatayi's struggle to create a powerful feudal state, Fuzul's protest against the reign of money, and Vagif's advocacy of uniting the country with the powerful Russian state are interesting." It is added that the work is only the "first step" for a more all-encompassing study.

/12913

CSO: 1831/417

## NEARING MILLENNIUM PROMPTS CHRISTIANIZATION OF RUS DISCUSSION

Moscow MOSCOW NEWS in English No 29, 26 Jul-2 Aug 87 p 13

[Text]

The 1000th anniversary of the baptism of Rus – an event that played a major role not only in church affairs but in the life of our whole country – will be observed in June 1988, in a year's time. It is natural that believers and nonbelievers approach this date in different ways, but both view it with profound respect and keen interest. One example is the conversation between Professor **Valentin YANIN**, Corresponding Member of the USSR Academy of Sciences, head of the archaeology chair of Moscow University, and Archpriest **Ivan BELEVTSSEV**, Professor of the Leningrad Theological Academy.

**Valentin Yanin:** I think that we shall have no serious differences over our assessment of the 1000th anniversary of the baptism of Rus. After accepting Christianity, Rus joined a considerable number of countries, developing traditions of an ancient culture. The single church system was instrumental in bringing disunited principalities together, spreading the written language, and the new notions about people, culture and art; the Orthodox Church service was the synthesis of three arts: music, painting and theatre.

**Ivan Belevtsev:** I quite agree with you. The baptism of Rus under Prince Vladimir (978-1015) started with the inhabitants of its capital – Kiev. At first, there was preliminary catechization, i.e., instruction in the Christian faith, and then the conversion of the Kievans en masse in the Dnieper, according to the annals, in 988. Christianity was declared the state religion in Rus. A society of Christians arose, growing far and wide with time. Bishops came from Byzantium with a metropolitan at their head. Priests arrived from Bulgaria with books for divine service in the Slav language.

Churches were built, parishes and dioceses were instituted, and schools were opened to train clergymen.

The baptism of Rus and the advent of the Russian Orthodox Church wielded a profound influence on the moral foundations of the people's life: the gross pagan customs – blood revenge, polygamy, forced marriages – were dispensed with; the family was strengthened; maternal authority was elevated, and the Church sought to restore the peace violated by the wars between the princes.

**V. Ya.:** I believe that the history of the Church is part of historical science in general, whereas studying the history of the Church rests on the same foundation as studying any historical process – primarily, the correct assessment of the sources. In this connection I have a question: is it true that the Church is now going to institute the Order of St. Andrew the First-Called? If so, then I find this surprising: scientifically, the legend about the stay of this Christian missionary in Rus can be seen only as a legend. If we speak about the place on the Dnieper where Andrew alle-

gedly prophesized the birth of Kiev, then in terms of the times the question could only be of Chernyakhovsk culture; there is no scientific record concerning the existence of Slavs on the Dnieper at that time. And the legend itself is not authentic.

**I. B.:** The Order of St. Andrew the First Called is not a new one, it was instituted by Peter the Great and was the first and highest award in Russia. St. Andrew's flag waved on the ships of the Russian Navy. And this was doubtlessly a real reflection of the "legend" you mention - even legends at times contain a grain of historical truth.

**V. Ya.:** I want to draw your attention to a factor which I see as very important. It is linked to the division of the churches, which led to the eastern branch being cut off from Western Europe. The rigid frontier between East and West formed in virtue of definite differences between the churches.

**I. B.:** The division of the churches occurred after the baptism of Rus - in 1054. The prerequisites for the division took place before: the disputes between the Greek East and the Latin West started as early as the 9th century. But at that time this did not give rise to such prejudice of one side against the other. *The Tale of Bygone Years* (c. 996) notes the friendly relations between Prince Vladimir and Boleslaw of Poland, Stephen of Hungary and Andrich of the Czech lands. Considering that Prince Vladimir was kindred to the German emperor, and his son Yaroslav the Wise (1019-1054) to the Swedish, Norwegian and French kings, it is possible to believe that Kievan Rus established good and peaceful relations with many Christian states in Europe. As a matter of fact, even after 1054 Rus maintained fairly close trade and political relations with Catholic countries.

**V. Ya.:** I disagree with you on this point. Reread the famous anti-Catholic sermons of Theodosius of Pechora *Discourse on Christian and Latin Faith*, or Metropolitan Georgi's *Contention Against Latin*, Metropolitan Ioann II's *Message to Pope Clement*...

However, I think it is more important to sort out the following question: why did Christianization occur at the close of the 10th century and why did Rus opt for Orthodoxy? Today we can answer these questions. At the turn of the 10th century Rus maintained more extensive contacts - cultural as well as trade - not with Byzantium but with the East. This has been reaffirmed by numerous archaeological finds. How-

ever, a crisis set in in these contacts in roughly the second third of the 10th century. One of its causes was the depletion of the silver mines in the East and the deteriorating quality of the silver coin. Rus ceased to receive the equivalent of the wealth it exported - furs, honey, wax and precious types of fish. In the 10th century there was a sharp rise in Rus' interest in Byzantium which it saw as a favourable market. This is where we should look for the prerequisites for the acceptance of Christianity.

But there are more important reasons. As early as 980 Vladimir tried to carry out a reform, which is usually called "pagan" - he organized in Kiev a peculiar Areopagus of gods, where Peroun (Thunder God), Dajdbog (Sun God) and Khors (God of Health and Hunting) were all put together. Paganism was not homogeneous. Different tribal alliances had different gods: in the south, for instance, people needed water most of all, so they worshipped it, whereas in the north the greatest need was for the Sun - this was how the cult of the Sun took shape. Incidentally, shrove pancakes are a northern custom. Inasmuch as Rus needed to be unified as a state, and the local peculiarities had to be overcome, Vladimir wanted to give the state a single form of the cult. He needed an ideological union. The Christian religion was chosen as one for the whole state. Do you agree with this way of posing the question?

**I. B.:** I can agree, but I want to add something. Indeed, the trade routes which determined the interrelations of countries and states were used by Christian missionaries - they could not go to another country, so they chose a different, roundabout way. What is strange about it? Rus blazed trade routes to Byzantium and, naturally, these routes were followed by the missionaries. It is no accident that the author of the chronicle story about Andrew the Apostle leads him along the Great Waterway "from the Varangians to the Greeks", connecting the Baltic and the Black seas. Another question: from what time was this way used, and how much was it used? What can you say about this as an archaeologist?

**V. Ya.:** Archaeologists have found a great many treasure troves on the Great Waterway. Excavations make it possible to believe that in the 9th century it was still non-existent. Trade was carried out along the Volga and the Dnieper, and it was only after the 930s that the aforesaid way was used on its entire length.

**I. B.:** The "pagan" reform of 980, like the acceptance of the Christian Orthodox faith from Byzantium, can be explained by Prince Vladimir's desire to rally the eastern Slav tribes into one strong state. But I believe that the main reason is not to be found here. Christianity made its way into Rus even before the baptism of Rus. However, it is the 9th century that proved to be the most favourable time for strengthening the old Russian state's ties with Christian Byzantium and Bulgaria. Paganism in Kiev was surrendering its positions at that time. Possibly this is what made Prince Vladimir at the beginning of his rule "reform" the pagan religion with a view to strengthening it. Although the whole thing could be much simpler: the old wooden idols fell into decay, so Vladimir decided to refurbish them. That was the whole "reform". Accepting the Orthodox faith from Byzantium, Prince Vladimir was certainly guided by state considerations as well. But his principal motivations were religious.

**V. Ya.:** You accentuate the "unifying" merits of the Church. But it was unable to overcome dissent. Look, for example, with what difficulties relations took shape between the metropolis and the Novgorod diocese. The metropolitan was sent from Constantinople and he appointed bishops to different lands. But in Novgorod the ruler was elected from 1156. This, incidentally, prevented Novgorod from uniting with the rest of the Russian land.

**I. B.:** This assessment is not quite accurate. Local conditions tell, of course, on the life of the Church. Novgorodians could make their ruler take part in building bridges, redeem prisoners of war, and pay for the modernization of their city. But I cannot agree that this amounted to a separation of the Church from the Kiev metropolis. A share of independence - yes, but not separation.

**V. Ya.:** I would like to discuss the spread of Christianity, notably the attitude to Christianization in Novgorod. According to Joachim's chronicle, when the missionaries Dobrynya and Putyata came to Novgorod, they did not find it at all easy to carry out their mission. Even before that a Christian community existed there in the so-called Sofia part of the city. Novgorodians destroyed the church there and started attacking Christians and burning down their houses. Dobrynya and his followers fought the inhabitants, putting them down with fire and sword.

This is the legend. And this is what new archaeological excavations on Novgorod's territory indicated: traces were found there of a major fire which occurred in 989 or 990 – marks on trees make it possible to establish the date with a fair degree of accuracy. Monetary troves were found under the site of burnt houses: their owners were unable to return to their savings, probably because they had been killed. The excavations in Novgorod also indicate that paganism was strong there: in the layers of the 12th, 13th and 14th centuries we keep on finding various amulets with an image of a pagan deity on one side and a Christian one on the other.

The complete Christianization of Novgorod should in all probability be referred to the end of the 13th century. Until that time along with the name given during baptism there was a secular name: in the case of princes – Rostislav, Mstislav – and in the case of commoners – Tverdislav, Sudila, Zhiroslov, Dobronech, etc. Christian names are seen rather seldom on birchbark edicts before the end of the 13th century. The names of Dmitry, Mikhail or Georgi became widespread from the late 13th-early 14th centuries.

I. B.: We are going to celebrate the 1000th anniversary of the baptism of Rus, but it does not mean that the whole of Rus without exception was "christened" in 988. We mark only the initial moment. Vladimir did not baptize all the inhabitants of Kiev. Some were baptized prior to that – probably the troop was baptized earlier – while some did not want to be baptized. I think that Prince Vladimir as a wise ruler of the state did not revert to methods of coercion. He prepared people for the acceptance of the faith. If he had forcibly driven them into the Dnieper, it would not

have been consistent with the spirit of Christianity or Vladimir's statesmanly wisdom, and would not have produced any result. It is impossible to teach everyone – he tried to teach those who would set an example for others.

The encounter between the new faith and the old took a difficult turn, sometimes developing into fierce confrontation, of course, as was the case in Novgorod, when Bishop Joachim arrived there. Pagans started beating up Christians, and the authorities as personified by Dobrynya, the uncle of Prince Vladimir, and Voivode Putyata retaliated by taking countermeasures. It is difficult to re-educate people on Christian principles. Even today many of those who call themselves Christians may in actuality be pagans.

V. Ya.: Our discussion is drawing to a close. I have a businesslike proposal to make. Church archaeology was making successful headway, but this line has now been interrupted. It's a pity. I would like to see joint work. My book about the Necropolis of Sofia will soon appear. Would you write a critique on it?

I. B.: Indeed, there was a time when many students of the Theological Academy simultaneously graduated from the Archaeological Institute. Regrettably, we have few specialists in this field. Still there are some, and we shall try to comply with your request.

V. Ya.: In conclusion, I would like to say that the very possibility of a calm, respectful conversation between us on problems that concern both of us is a good omen. In this way we have been able to get a deeper insight into our positions, to see that there are points of contact, and learn where our views differ.

I. B.: I also believe that the discussion was useful.

/9317  
CSO: 1812/262



RELIGIOUS ANTI-SOVIET PROPAGANDA IN LITHUANIA SCORED

Vilnius KOMMUNIST in Russian No 5 May 87 (signed to press 7 May 87) pp 52-56

[Article by Yuozas Yermalavichyus, doctor of historical sciences: "The Imperialist 'Crusade'"]

[Text] The interests of the imperialistic and reactionary clerical circles coincide. They are united in their attempts to slow down revolutionary renewal of the world, to divert religious workers from the class struggle, to restrain peoples liberated from colonial oppression from decisive social changes, and to weaken the peace supporters' and other democratic movements. They especially maliciously attack the socialist countries' cooperation in trying to undermine their unity.

When the imperialistic reaction announced a "crusade" against socialism, Soviet Lithuania became one of its targets. The countries of anti-Communism made our republic and all Baltic republics into an area subject to constant attacks by the imperialist propaganda. It can be said that geographically, Lithuania, together with the entire Western region of the Soviet Union, became the front line of the ideological confrontation with imperialism.

In 1919, World Imperialism, together with the local bourgeoisie, was able to suppress the Socialist revolution in Lithuania. Later, there was an attempt to transform the territory of the bourgeois republic into a beachhead for anti-Soviet diversions. During the post-war years, the anti-communist centers supported the terror and violence imposed by the bourgeois nationalists on the working masses. And today the imperialistic centers still entertain in vain the hope of finding inside Lithuania nationalistic forces for anti-Soviet diversions.

In Soviet Lithuania, about 80 percent of believers are Catholics. Here, over 60 percent of all the Catholics in the Soviet Union live. Therefore, beginning in 1940, the imperialist reaction has tried to use the Catholic Church for bourgeois ideology dissemination in Lithuania, and in the entire Western region of our country. Characteristically, in pumping up religious propaganda, our enemies have cleverly used the difficulties and contradictions emerging during the economical and social development of the republic, different vestiges of the past in the minds and behavior of the people, especially the nationalistic prejudices and relapses of the consumer's



mentality, and the expressions of ideological unscrupulousness and moral instability.

The scale of imperialist propaganda in Lithuania has widened, its methods have become more insidious, and this propaganda now resorts even to outright lies. Active help to the anti-communist centers is provided by the nationalistic and clerical organizations of the Lithuanian bourgeois emigration. They publish quite a number of newspapers and magazines with anti-communist content, and use the services of more than ten radiostations in different capitalist countries.

In its propagandistic aggression against Socialism, the imperialist reaction takes a position of open anti-communism and anti-Sovietism, that is, it seeks the further strengthening of the union between bourgeois nationalism and political clericalism. It seeks to weaken the social-political unity of the Soviet people and tries to crack this unity along national and religious peculiarities.

The organizers of anti-communist propaganda are seeking to establish yet another path of bourgeois ideology penetration into Lithuania, as well as into the Western regions of Belorussia and Ukraine, with the help of the reactionary elements in the Polish People's Republic, where they have tried to use in the attacks against Socialism not only the influence of the Catholic Church, but also the fact of the existence of private property. When in the fall of 1980, the social-economical and political-ideological contradictions in Poland worsened, the class enemy increased ideological diversions against Soviet Lithuania as well. However, they did not achieve the expected results, because favorable social-economical conditions were absent.

The U.S. Senate and the President have tried openly to interfere in the internal affairs of Lithuania and other Soviet Baltic republics. In June 1982, the Senate adopted resolution No. 201 concerning "Freedom Day" of the Baltic States, and R. Reagan presented a declaration to the American public circles on this occasion. These official state documents, in addition to complete disregard for elementary norms of international relations, repeated anew the old stereotypes of the anti-communist propaganda with regard to the Soviet Baltic republics. The notorious invention concerning "human rights" violations in Lithuania, Latvia, and Estonia, was especially stressed. By using this invention, an attempt was made to refute the historical fact that Socialism has guaranteed the real content of the ideas of human rights and freedoms by liberating the working masses of the Soviet Baltic republics from social oppression, economic exploitation, class oppression, and the other evils of capitalism.

In June 1986, the Congress of the United States at a joint session of the Senate and the House of Representatives adopted resolution No. 271, devoted once again to "Freedom Day" of the Baltic States, and on this occasion President Reagan made a new declaration, full of animosity toward the socialist way of life in Lithuania and the other Soviet Baltic republics. The U.S. Congress in its documents was supposedly guided by the notion that the peoples of the Baltic republics "highly appreciate religious and political freedoms and independence principles." Well, these principles are being

realized in actual life. The Constitution of the Lithuanian SSR and Soviet laws guarantee each citizen social-economical, political, and personal rights and freedoms. These rights are now being secured with the development of Soviet democracy and the deepening of socialist self-government by the people. As a guarantee of the freedom of conscience, conditions for professing any religion and administering religious rituals are provided for each believer, and each nonbeliever can be completely free of religion.

Under the cover of the "religious and political freedom" slogan, the resolution contains crude inventions addressed to the Soviet political system, which supposedly has eliminated in the Baltic republics "all remainders of democracy, civil liberties and religious freedom." The U.S. Congress needs this invention in order to have the opportunity to call the peoples of the Soviet Baltic republics "deprived of all basic human rights." The U.S. Congress tries to support its political illusions, connected with the dream of tearing away Lithuania and the other Baltic republics from the Soviet Union, with the idea of "religious and political freedom." Naturally, these attempts are being covered up with "noble" intents: "to restore their personal, political, and religious freedoms." At the same time, all these resolutions prove that the U.S. Congress understands "religious and political freedom" as the restoration of capitalistic government in Lithuania and the other Baltic republics.

Such "freedom American-style" does not coincide at all with the interests of the Lithuanian people.

The Vatican also participates in this new "crusade" under the old anti-communist slogans. As during previous diversions of the imperialist reaction against the Soviet Union, the world center of Catholicism is trying to use the Catholic Church in Lithuania for anti-Soviet purposes. Therefore, a unique concept has been formulated, describing which Pope Pius 12th on June 18, 1939, called the Catholic Church in Lithuania "the Northern stronghold of Catholicism" (naturally, against the Soviet Union).

Even though the concept of a "stronghold of Catholicism" does not satisfy modern reality, the reactionary circles in the Vatican continuously repeat that the Lithuanian people supposedly "during the ages have remained devoted to the Apostolic Church." On March 4, 1983, Pope John Paul reminded us that "even though geographically Lithuania is located in the East, already for several centuries she has been connected with St. Peter's Throne in Rome by the links of faith and Catholic unity." In this case, one is to remember that already on June 26, 1940, during the Socialist revolution in our republic, the Concordate between the Lithuanian state and the Vatican was annulled.

The reactionary circles in the Vatican still remember those times when the Lithuanian Catholic clergy was used as the "fifth column" of international imperialism. On the eve of the Great Patriotic War, more than ten Lithuanian Catholic priests became agents of Fascist Germany's intelligence. When in the beginning of the war, the Fascists occupied the republic, quite a substantial number of the Catholic priests collaborated with the authorities of the occupying forces. They helped Hitler's occupants to rob the country and to exterminate people. Those representatives of the clergy who were afraid of

responsibility for the crimes they committed against their own people ran away with the Fascist occupants at the end of the war. Even though their service for Fascism discredited the clergy in the eyes of the people's masses, the intelligences of the capitalistic states recommended their spies and saboteurs to look for asylum in parishes and monasteries. During the first post-war years, about 20 representatives of the republic's clergy collaborated with the agents of foreign intelligences, and a total of 250 clergymen had links with bourgeois terrorist organizations. The reactionary part of the Lithuanian Catholic clergy were active accomplices of international imperialism.

Based on these facts, the centers of imperialist reaction even today continue their attempts to create their "fifth column" in Lithuania. However, the situation has radically changed: the absolute majority of the Catholic clergy are show political loyalty toward the Soviet State. Only individual extremists support political clericalism methods and try to use religion and the Church for anti-people political purposes. Obviously, the imperialist propaganda institutions are interested in obtaining slanderous materials about the Socialist economy and culture, the people's way of life, and the situation of the Church. Clerical extremists instigated by anti-communist centers write and send abroad various leaflets and letters in which they present a distorted view of life in Soviet Lithuania, slander the Socialist way of life, and distort the facts concerning the development of economics and culture. For example, in the end of 1969, the reactionary emigration, based on attacks by several Lithuanian extremists, was quick to proclaim that a "priests' movement" supposedly exists in the republic. Actually, the apologists of anti-communism had presented their dreams and hopes as reality. However, these efforts were in vain.

In spite of all efforts by the class enemy, the imperialistic "crusade" is condemned to failure, because it tries to resist the social progress of mankind. History reminds us that all such "crusades" against social progress have been defeated.

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CSO: 1800/712

SAIDBAYEV ON 'EXAGGERATED' ISLAMIC INFRASTRUCTURE IN CENTRAL ASIA

Moscow LITERATURNAYA GAZETA in Russian No 24, 10 Jun 87 p 14

[Article by Talib Saidbayev, director of the Institute of Philosophy and Law of the UzSSR Academy of Sciences, doctor of philosophical sciences, professor: "Islam and Politics"]

[Text] With extraordinary interest, I read in LITERATURNAYA GAZETA (Nos. 20 and 21, 1987) the article by I. Belyayev, "Islam and Politics." The urgency of the article is difficult to overestimate, because there are many white spots for specialists studying Islam's influence on contemporary political, social, and economic processes.

Indeed, the program of scientific studies concerning the problems of studying modern Islam includes the publication of a huge number of monographs and collections of articles on Islam's history and ideology, and on its role in foreign countries and regions. However, this program lacks a section proposing the study of Islam in the USSR.

I. Belyayev's concern about the "restoration" of Islam's influence on the spiritual life of those peoples in our country who had practiced it during the pre-revolutionary past is close and understandable to me. I would say more: science has not yet resolved the problem of the reappearance of Muslim rites and traditions during socialism, of known non-believers being attracted to these rites, and of the identification of the religious and the national in the public consciousness. Explaining these phenomena only through the activities of religious organizations and the clergy contradicts the Marxist understanding of religion, which requires a comprehensive assessment of its social and historical causes.

One cannot disagree with such concrete proposals by I. Belyayev as, for example, to legalize the "parallel" mosques. The small number of officially registered mosques (slightly more than 1 percent of their number before the revolution) in no way represents the true number of believers, and it is indeed a plain fraud.



At the same time, the author of the article writes about the existence in the Soviet Central Asian republics of "some kind of Islamic infrastructure." This is an exaggeration. Islam does not play any role in economics, politics, law, or the educational system in our region. On the other hand, it definitely has a place in the psychology of the public, and it influences the philosophy and values of many people.

One also cannot consider successful the obviously ill-conceived proposal of I. Belyayev to change place names and personal names which have a "Muslim" etymology. In this case, for the sake of fairness, we would have to rename many things outside Central Asia. Studies have shown, for example, that Fatima, the most prevalent "Islamic" name in the past, ranks today about the thirtieth in names for the newborn in Samarkand. And previously uncommon names such as Ilkhom (inspiration), Gayrat (energy), Guzal (beautiful), etc. now predominate.

I. Belyayev's attempt to find the mention of Allan in the name of the popular ensemble "Yalla" is inappropriate, because this originally Turkic word from pre-Muslim times meant a joking dance song in the Uzbek language.

Without doubt, I. Belyayev's article helps us to understand correctly the power of Islam in modern society both outside and inside our country. It is not a secret that in everyday life we perceive ideological struggle as something that does not affect us personally, as the concern of political and governmental mechanisms. However, I. Belyayev convincingly proves how deeply this struggle has penetrated our everyday life, and shows the means and the colossal technical arsenal of hostile propaganda. For me personally, as a scholar of Islam, this article became yet another reason to assess critically what means we have in this irreconcilable struggle.

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CSO: 1830/613



## PILGRIMAGES ON RISE IN DARGANATA RAYON

[Editorial Report] Ashkhabad SOVET TURKMENISTANY in Turkmen on 7 May 1987 carries on page 3 a 1300-word article by I. Rozumbayev on religious activity in Darganata Rayon headlined "A Discussion Held at a Village Meeting Due to the Darganata 'Fog.'" He notes that "in Darganata Rayon, those who walk around in search of easy living and who are poisoning men's minds and lives with the fog of religious belief have appeared. And those who make the pilgrimage to the monument of Dargan Baba, which is by no means holy, and to the cemetery next to it have increased." He points out that "the fact that some pseudo-mullahs are following and propagating religious traditions, which pollute the fresh air, has proven that the Turkmen CP raykom and rayispolkom and other relevant organs have not evaluated this question in a principled manner, and that atheistic propaganda in the rayon has basically grown weaker." He also claims that one of the guardians of the shrine "has been listening to hostile programs on foreign radio stations and preaching to vacillating and unstable people."

## MUSLIM SOCIALISM 'NOT SOCIALISM'

[Editorial Report] Ashkhabad SOVET TURKMENISTANY in Turkmen on 24 May 1987 carries on page 4 a 1200-word article by G. Kerimov, Dr. Hist. Sci., on the meaning of Islamic socialism. "As is well known, the ideas of socialism are widespread in countries of the Near and Middle East. The muslim religion confronts this in various ways: when they seek to repudiate this idea as alien to Islam, they try to destroy it; if they do not succeed, they try to give it a Muslim nuance and to use socialism for their own goals. How is this done? Very simply. Preachers say that there is socialism in Islam. This being the case, and given the existence of the Koran, who needs Marx's 'Kapital'?" The Muslim logic is that "Muslims are connected by three things--land, water, and pasture, implying that Islam is socialized because land and water are not private property. But this is not socialism."

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CSO: 1835/429

## ACTIVITIES, MEETINGS OF 'PAMYAT' GROUP ASSESSED

Moscow OGONEK in Russian No 21, May 87 pp 4-5

[Article by Anatoliy Golovkov and Aleksey Pavlov: "What Are You Making Noises About?"; first paragraph is source introduction]

[Text] The novel "Burannyy polustanok" by Chingiz Aytmatov recounts the legend of the Mankurts, slaves who did not recall their past: "...it is considerably easier to take off a captive's head or to do any other harm in order to intimidate the spirit than it is to drive out a person's memory, to destroy the reason in him, to tear out the roots of that thing which accompanies a human being until his last breath, which remains his sole possession, departs with him and is inaccessible to others." Our conversation is about Memory and about "Pamyat" [memory], about how important it is not to become a Mankurt in one's native land. Yet by the same token we have not forgotten these words by the noted Russian thinker Petr Chaadayev: "I have not learned to love my homeland with closed eyes, with bowed head, with unhearing ears. I find that a person can be useful to his country only if he sees it clearly... I assume that we have come after others in order to do better than they, in order not to fall into their mistakes, their blunders and superstitions."

Recently we have been speaking with alarm more and more often, sensing the loss of something extremely important more and more often. We are concerned more and more by a ruined house on an old street in the capital. A clumsily compiled school history textbook. A creek whose name is no longer remembered even by local residents. And the absence of family albums in our tiresome apartments with their standardized furnishings? And the children in the courtyard who do not even know the names of wonderful folk games, even though people our age have all played chiza, lapta, gorodki...

This is precisely what concerns the enthusiasts who are members of the Moscow "Pamyat" [Memory] Association. We could devote this entire article to a recitation of their good and self-sacrificial causes. These people are barring the path of mechanisms sent by soulless orders to destroy the monuments of our culture. They encourage the return of the true names of streets and squares, folk traditions and folklore. Most importantly, through its actions the "Pamyat" movement warns us: if we are without history we inevitably become less and poorer in spirit.

But the above applies only to genuine defenders of history and remembrance. It is so bitter to speak of this: among them, concealed, no doubt, behind high-sounding goals there exist members of a certain clique. Recently, without even bothering about concealment, they have through their public appearances begun to sow ideas of a very dubious nature, at times even calling into question the very principles of socialist internationalism.

...An auditorium in one of the Moscow palaces of culture. A banner bearing the word "Pamyat" in Old Slavic lettering hangs above the stage. And three banners in the form of stylized gonfalons: on the first are the words "When Moscow speaks the whole country hears!," on the second "Truth does not fear the court!" and on the third "Courage every day!"

We should note that no signs were posted announcing that a regular meeting of the "Pamyat" Historical and Patriotic Association was to be held at the Dinamo Plant House of Culture. Yet exactly on time the quite spacious auditorium was filled to capacity. At 7:00 pm sharp loudspeakers thundered: "We will not waver in battle for our capital...," after which a "battle for the capital" began right there on stage.

Moderator Nikolay, a young man, appeared and in a few words outlined "all the gravity of the situation," in which, in his opinion, "true patriots" find themselves. And he praised the courage of those who, in spite of everything, had gathered in that auditorium. The enemies whose persecution he so feared were not named directly, but, to all appearances their power and capabilities were great. (We found out that one of the "Pamyat" activists had been "brutally beaten in broad daylight on Gorkiy Street with the complete complicity of the militia.") Then Nikolay urged those gathered there to continue to stoutly hold out for the people against the dark forces and turned the floor over to the first orator.

The "workers' tribune" -- this was his title -- first of all reported the following: "...at work women say to me: 'you are modest like all Russian people'." And then he came out with a real revelation: "1941 has come in our lives, and we are not even aware of it." This desperate statement definitely did not astound everyone in the audience. And the "tribune" prophesied for another 10 minutes about enemies drawing their iron circle ever closer.

The orator did not name those enemies, either, but he was applauded.

The next speaker came out, obviously an individual of certain artistic talent. In any event, he was talented enough to draw a map of the capital for his esteemed public, on which map everything was drawn in two colors: one for the remaining areas of old buildings and one for those areas irreparably destroyed. "I will not draw conclusions," said the artist, "but if one extends these lines, one has -- see! -- an arrow... And where does it point? Toward the Hotel Rossiya. Let everyone ponder that for himself: an arrow into Rossiya [Russia]!"

He was also applauded.

The next speaker was "the hermit of the North." He subjected a poster from the Riga Young People's Theater to painstaking analysis. Using the aforementioned method he also drew an imaginary line from a sword in one corner to the figure of a Russian man in the other corner of the poster. "What brazenness! A sword into a Russian?!" The theater's repertoire was also the subject of critical interpretation. And once again this was followed by an appeal to the audience to "draw the proper conclusions."

The orators spoke one after another, and we learned more and more details about the "monstrous conspiracy." All the time these as yet unnamed "enemies" are not only destroying ancient monuments on the streets of Moscow, are not only forbidding an evening devoted to patriotic themes in the Central House of Artists, are not only imposing the "subversive cycle of lectures entitled 'Ancient Cities of Italy'" at that same place, but are also building subway lines "so that it will be possible to blow up the most important state agencies without difficulty." They are intentionally introducing epidemics into Moscow. ("And, you know what? Scientists have proved that the mellow chime of Moscow's bells ionized the air, thereby destroying bacteria, but now that the churches are in ruins...")

We admit it: we could not believe what we were hearing and taking down in our notebooks and on our tape recorder.

But all this was just the opening act for the main number on the program: a speech by D. D. Vasilyev, "journalist and photographic artist." He spoke for approximately three hours. "I do not know whether I will be able to speak to you again. At any moment I could find myself lying on the street with a crushed skull. So each time I like to say everything I have to say..."

And he did. In any event, the "enemies" were finally named with all the directness of a "non-party Bolshevik" (we should note that no matter what else the leaders of "Pamyat" may be accused of, excessive modesty will not be on the list; they spare no adjectives in their self-appraisal, dubbing themselves: a "great people's composer and songwriter," "fearless people's tribune," "we, the scientist-patriots," a "great fighter for sobriety"...). Thus, in all of our ills, in all of our difficulties "the sole guilt lies with international Zionism and the Masons." Supposedly they have "penetrated every pore of our social organism" with the goal of paralyzing it. And since the main obstacle to the achievement of this is the Russian people's national consciousness, a "God-fearing people" is capable of resisting the diabolical machinations of this high-handed enemy.

So that, supposedly, is what is at stake! An attempt is being made first to shake the "age-old foundations" and then to make drunkards of a drained nation. There is no denying that drinking is our sore point. But is there any need to resort to anecdotal statements like these: "Scientists have determined that kefir [a beverage made from fermented cow's milk] contains 1.5 percent alcohol. That means that it is to someone's advantage to get our children drunk." But Vasilyev's speech was not just peppered with anecdotes. There were also examples of truly unsuccessful city construction plans which have done a certain amount of harm to the appearance of our city. But that



was the extent of serious argumentation: what followed was a series of "weighty accusations" and exposure of "conspirators"...

We realize the full responsibility of this parallel, but it is nonetheless hard to shake a sense of amazing similarity between the "ideological underpinnings" of D. Vasilyev and the theoreticians of the Black Hundreds Movement at the beginning of the 20th century. Here before us we have a book by S. I. Smirnova entitled "Bortsy za svobodu" [Freedom Fighters], published during the wave of reaction in 1907. Venting her rage at the revolutionaries, Smirnova describes their program in the following manner: "The most important thing is to teach the people that there is nothing sacred for them nor should there be. It is dangerous to leave them faith in some sacred thing which is common to all the people, because in that case the people could rise as one to defend that thing." Eighty years later we heard those very same words pronounced from the stage of a Moscow House of Culture, and in both cases Orthodoxy was proclaimed "the holy thing common to all the people" which alone could be the source of good for the people. It is scarcely a coincidence that during his entire three-hour speech Vasilyev only mentioned the Great Patriotic War in connection with the contributions made by the Russian church to the defense fund.

Vasilyev has no doubt: the situation is critical. ("They have built a bar and grill in a former church building on Khavskaya Street... I do not know what a 'grill' is. But the hour is near when they will open a brothel there and begin using our wives and daughters as concubines!")

That constitutes intentional incitement of hysterical suspicion and fear. Consider just the one "Appeal By the 'Pamyat' Historical and Patriotic Association to the Russian People" which was adopted in our presence! Here is part of what it said: "...the full force of Masonry and Zionism in our country is aimed at the Russian people and our Fatherland... More boldly seek out and name the enemy's conspiratorial apartments... Seek out and promote the true leaders among us... Hold demonstrations and referendums throughout the country... Take control of the mass media, expose corrupt journalists and deal with them... The Motherland is in danger! Courage every day!..."

The ravings of a maniac? Yet hundreds of people listened! And how many cassette tapes of Vasilyev's speeches have been disseminated in cities and villages?!

Today openness and democratization are becoming the norm in all aspects of our society. Quite frankly, this new reality does not come easily, and the cost is high. And now we are encountering a problem: can we (in the name of glasnost, in the name of democracy) grant a forum for incitement, lies and dangerous social demagoguery?

How much we, the Soviet people, need unity! We need to feel every day that we are united by the splendid goal of the Revolution, here on the eve of its 70th anniversary. But while we understand how much remains to be done in order to achieve success, we must also be aware of those who do not wish for that success. Today it is hard to be an overt opponent of restructuring: approval of renewal among the people is too great. Therefore attempts are being made



over and over again to blend in with the process and turn it to personal advantage, and to personal advantage alone.

How convincingly the most noble-sounding decisions are made one after another in defense of historical and cultural monuments; a Soviet Cultural Fund has been created, many national treasures and treasure houses have been saved and restored. But accompanying the development of this movement have been repeated attempts to steal in, to infiltrate it in order to disrupt it from within, to compromise and vulgarize it and use its just ideas for personal purposes. Essentially, attempts are being made to divert and hold up the cause of the preservation and restoration of our cultural riches. For all its timeliness this process has historical precedent and is rooted in many years' experience, one need only stop and think to realize that. We agree with a recent statement by O. Trubachev, a corresponding member of the USSR Academy of Sciences, who cited a line by Pushkin in a PRAVDA article: "'What are you making noises about, orators of the people?...' Orators of the people -- these are not people's orators as one might conceive of them today, but rather those who usurp the right to speak on behalf of entire nations. It was in them and in actions of the sort taken by them that Pushkin saw abuse of essentially correct nationalistic slogans. It was this abuse which Pushkin angrily and fearlessly opposed. Time has passed, yet his rebuke in 'Slanderers of Russia' resounds as if it had been written yesterday."

What sort of association is "Pamyat"? Where did it come from?

At the beginning of the 1980's the society was organized under the USSR Ministry of the Aviation Industry by people who had set themselves the goal of halting the destruction of Moscow's historical and cultural monuments. A noble goal. We realize how large a field of endeavor unfortunately extended before the society's enthusiasts at that time. Because those who by virtue of their offices were obligated to defend those monuments were often truly inactive. Therefore "Pamyat" was formed. Hundreds and thousands of people came to Saturday work days organized by the association and attended lectures given by specialists, historians and writers.

Then the situation began to change; in the association's leadership there appeared individuals who had nothing to do either with the aviation industry or with history. More and more energy began to be spent on the search for imaginary enemies instead of on real business. Then "Pamyat" moved to the Palace of Culture imeni Gorbunov. But (after an evening with the innocent-sounding title of "Moscow, How Much That Name Holds...") it did not long remain there, either. The party committee, condemning the irresponsible speeches being given and noting that there were almost no workers present in the auditorium, refused "Pamyat" the use of the building... And the homeless association began its wanderings.

After that evening at the Dinamo Plant House of Culture we called the House of Culture's director and asked: "Are you aware what sort of event you sponsored?" "What do you mean? It was a student evening organized by a cultural education school!" the director readily answered. It turned out that one of the members of "Pamyat," an instructor at that school, had quite simply hoodwinked the club's administration. The future cultural education workers

were not informed about "their" evening and did not find out, so all manner of "defenders of national consciousness" had an opportunity to speak to their hearts' content.

In February of this year "Pamyat" attempted to hold an evening meeting in the conference hall of the Hotel Yunost using roughly the same scheme. The director of affairs for the All-Union Komsomol Central Committee, which has jurisdiction over the hotel, received an official letter signed by V. V. Yegiazarov, director of the republic committee of the RSFSR Art Fund's Monumental and Decorative Art Combine. The generous monument designers agreed to pay for the use of the auditorium. In an interview with us, Yegiazarov stated that he is in complete solidarity with the ideological precepts of "Pamyat." But is that any reason for paying for personal affinities out of state funds?

The meeting at the Hotel Yunost did not take place for technical reasons. True, those reasons did not appear convincing to the "patriots" who had gathered outside the hotel. Only the appearance of the first secretary of the party raykom on the scene could calm them down. And that only after he offered to meet with them at the raykom building and discuss their problems.

That meeting was conceived of as a discussion of some things which genuinely needed to be discussed: preservation of historical remembrance and attitudes toward cultural riches. The raykom invited prominent scientists to attend the meeting. The level of the proposed meeting was indicated by the participation in it by V. L. Yanin, corresponding member of the USSR Academy of Sciences. Any individual with a genuine interest in Russian history would have considered it an honor and a rare success to be able to hear the head of the Novgorod Archaeological Expedition and one of our country's most outstanding experts on Russian history. Memory in our Fatherland is no more deeply indebted to anyone than to Yanin, who has brought the voices of the past to life for us.

It is extremely shameful that people calling themselves patriots basically cut short V. L. Yanin's presentation. We do not want to accuse all the members of "Pamyat," but they need to stop and ask themselves why they prefer listening to Vasilyev's illiterate verbosity on historical subjects! And what justification can there be for a "photographic artist" shamelessly characterizing even the work of D. S. Likhachev as playing into the hands of... Zionism. Specifically, this was reported by the newspaper VECHERNIY SVERDLOVSK in its description of a recent visit by Vasilyev to his fellow thinkers in the Urals. The paper quoted public statements made by the traveler from Moscow.

"For Vasilyev," wrote the newspaper, "the means of fighting to preserve our national cultural heritage is war. Reaching the height of hysterical cliqueism, he literally screams that we are surrounded by enemies of the people, and that they must be 'torn to bits and thrown out the window,' that 'we will grind everyone that stands in our way into dust'."

In this connection a statement by the great Russian citizen M. Ye. Saltykov-Shchedrin sounds amazingly contemporary: "Man already has an inclination to

inculcate in himself a feeling of nationalism stronger than any other, and hence efforts to incite that feeling in him beyond the bounds which it would achieve on its own without outside intervention is not to influence a person's patriotism, but rather to play on the dark sentiments of exceptionalism and special destiny."

The process of inheriting cultural values should not be conceived of in an oversimplified manner. In attempting to be the inheritors of the revolutionary democrats and the creators of democratic culture, to be fighters for the people's strength and knowledge, more than one generation of Soviet people has already come to a realization of the fact that traditions which run counter to the aforementioned ones are quite deeply ingrained. It is very painful that in the process of restructuring the voices of opportunistic demagogues are being heard so loudly. But what else was to be expected? Easy capitulation on the part of those who have already spent years and decades opposing the processes which have been combined today in the reality and the concept of restructuring? For at one time they excoriated the sciences of genetics and cybernetics as harmful, alien, dangerous and unpatriotic phenomena. Well, those were not today's demagogues, but yesterday's, yet the connection between the two groups is plain to see; many lines intersect in our present-day lives, and we need the experience of history to be able to make sense of them. Talk of vigilance is exceptionally timely today. We must be able to defend restructuring like any other revolutionary process -- and one of the most important threats originates with the demagogues. It is offensive to see over and over again how patriotism -- in a distorted form which has been bent to personal uses -- is used in attempts to provide cover for those who stubbornly intend to fight for their personal goals under the guise of the lofty banners of a common cause. Well, we must do everything possible to ensure that openness is on the side of the proponents of restructuring, aiding them against anyone who incites political hysteria and provocations.

Today we have a great deal to do. So can we allow ourselves to be diverted from the performance of real tasks in order to search for imaginary enemies?

Remembrance can and should bear in itself the pure and bright energy of creativity. But distorted and poisoned memory can be transformed into a blind weapon of destruction.

According to [lexicographer] V. I. Dal, one of the meanings of the word "memory" is "a spiritual testament." It is not a matter of indifference to us what we receive from our ancestors through that testament and what we will someday pass on to our descendants. How we will use its colossal energy depends on us. Memory is not a mellow chime in the ears of the people. It is an claxon calling us to take a demanding and honest look at ourselves and at our present day. Let us choose what we will remember and who we will listen to!

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CSO: 1800/745

MEASURES FOR HISTORIC PRESERVATION RECOMMENDED

Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 14 May 87 p 3

[Article by T. Nechayeva: "A City's Antiquity in Light of the Law']

[Text] During discussions about the spiritual life of our society, one of the most urgent topics is that of memory and of regard for historical and cultural monuments, including historical cities whose history can be measured in centuries. Everyone knows how much is being done in our country to preserve and restore monuments of national culture. On the other hand, as was mentioned at the recent RSFSR Congress of Architects, the existing system of urban development with all its internal confusion of stages and agreements has for many years been conducive to the destruction of the historical character of old settlements and the architectural environment which has taken shape them over centuries.

The contemporary life of so-called historical cities is a whole series of interrelated questions. Today, many of these cities have become industrial centers. However, in doing so, they have remained historical monuments. Museum cities -how can the task of preserving their historical character be simultaneously combined with promoting their modernization, growth and development?

I believe that we need to begin with the first stage of reconstruction, with planning. That is, we should determine in advance the basic conditions for meeting the demands the future project. Planning should also determine the significance of historical buildings and "the cultural layer" to be included in the system of future planning for and building up of urban territory. It is planning itself, and not the finished project, that absolutely must be approved by the government and social offices responsible for preserving monuments.

It is here that the clients should be clearly aware of their task. Who are these clients? When developing the general plan for a historical city, they are the local soviets of people's deputies. In other cases, the client can also be a large enterprise, but its actions must be approved by the soviet.



And further? What specific measures can be taken to ensure the preservation of a planned building, landscape, monument or architectural environment? In this particular instance, too many cooks can spoil the broth.

Nevertheless, there are organizations that are specifically responsible for this. There are several of them in the RSFSR -architectural-planning administrations, ispolkom administrations of culture, planning organizations, Gosstroy, the Ministry of Culture and the Society for the Preservation of Historical and Cultural Monuments. It would appear that the interrelation between them has been clearly defined. However, the approval of projects takes years. There are no documents, regulations or zoning restrictions in the so-called areas of preservation. This makes it possible to carry out any "willful" decision and evade the RSFSR law "On the Preservation and Use of Historical and Cultural Monuments." Nevertheless, the public, government offices and cultural institutions cannot yield in such a serious matter to spur-of-the-moment interests and emotions, they should steadfastly maintain their position of combining the development of a city with the preservation of its historical character.

Since this principle is not always observed, some soviets of people's deputies, whose primary responsibility is the preservation of the historical character of a city, frequently do not display the necessary steadfastness. In Irkutsk, for example, a plan for areas of preservation was implemented as early as 1983 by the Moscow Institute of Urban Development with broad participation from local specialists. The coordinating departments noted that the quality of work was very high. However, the oblispolkom has still not approved the plan, insisting that . . . the list of monuments to be preserved be reduced.

Purely bureaucratic interests should not be allowed to impinge on historical cities, and it is the responsibility of the local soviets to be steadfast in this matter. For it is their duty to guarantee their fellow countrymen not only private housing "sections", palaces of culture, stadiums and a fixed amount of greenery per capita, but also a spiritually enriched life, which is impossible without an understanding of history.

There is another problem. The well-known list of 115 historical cities in the RSFSR (approved by the RSFSR Ministry of Culture and RSFSR Gosstroy in 1970) is not even a layout of the historical territory of Russia, but merely a fragment of it. It does not reflect the true number of cities which have cultural monuments. However, yet another, additional, list, which includes approximately 350 names, has not yet been approved by the RSFSR Ministry of Culture and RSFSR Gosstroy. Moreover, the special conditions for renovating historical cities is too sparingly applied to the cities of Siberia and the Far East. For example, the list does not include Tomsk with its ancient lacework, or famous Kyakhta, or Vladivostok with its extremely interesting fortified buildings which date back to the 19th century.

Finally, the ispolkoms themselves avoid in every way possible including population sites "under (their) jurisdiction" on this list. Why? Well, as the saying goes, it is less trouble! Moreover, these "special conditions" for



renovation are not in any practicable way supported or maintained by anything -neither by additional funds, nor restrictions, nor special construction standards and regulations. If such standards and regulations existed and were ratified by the law, a story similar to the one which occurred at one time in Pskov would not have happened. An electrotechnical equipment plant, in accordance with the general plan (approved by the RSFSR Council of Ministers in 1973), was constructed beyond the city limits. However, the department nevertheless "pushed through" a decision to allegedly renovate the plant, which consisted of . . . constructing a new shop directly in the area surrounding one of the 16th century monuments. The society for the preservation of monuments refused to approve the project. The gorispolkom also refused to approve it, although extremely apathetically. The ministry interested in the construction of the new shop "put the pressure on." Nevertheless, at that time in Pskov, public pressure succeeded in preserving the historical site.

Unfortunately though, this is a rare case. More frequently, the "cooperating organizations" yield to an "order of exceptions." It is as though the decision already rests in this formula. For example, the RSFSR deputy minister of culture, comrade Shkurko, "approved" the construction of a water tank in Pereslavl-Zalesskiy on Lake Pleshcheevo and a 14-story apartment building for oblispolkom employees in the historical center of Vologda. The administration of the All-Union Society for the Conservation of Natural Resources History and Culture gave the "green light" to the Moscow plant, Dinamo, to place a new shop next to a temple where heroes of the Kulikovskaya Battle, Peresvet and Oslabya, are buried (admittedly, this permission given by the first deputy chairman of the presidium of the society's central committee, comrade Peterburzhtsev, had to be rescinded after a public protest). We only have to know and remember Article 35 of the RSFSR law "On the Preservation and Use of Historical and Cultural Monuments": "The carrying out of excavation, construction and other work, as well as economic activity, is forbidden within preserved areas, areas of restricted construction and areas of preserved countryside, without the permission of appropriate bodies for the preservation of monuments of the SSSR or RSFSR". "Without permission!" Obviously, this is not enough.

At present, it is absolutely necessary to regulate the planning, construction and renovation of historical population sites. This matter should not depend on someone's subjective will, even be it "good will." And the law should be relied upon more than anything. It was mentioned above that local soviets are making concessions to departments, and social organizations sometimes yield to persuasion. This means that it is necessary to perfect the law concerning the preservation of monuments, and most importantly, to enforce the existing one as strictly as possible in order to protect our history and cultural monuments from both bureaucratic willfulness and local negligence.

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CSO: 1800/654

OGONEK GIVES FACTS ON ANGLETERRE DESTRUCTION

Moscow OGONEK in Russian No 20, May 87 pp 30-31

[Article by Oleg Petrichenko, OGONEK correspondent: "The Angletterre: Emotions and Facts"; first paragraph is source introduction]

[Text] ...Today all that remains of this dispute is a heap of construction rubble and a yawning, shapeless hole in the once flawless architectural ensemble on St. Isaac's Square, at the spot where once stood the Hotel Angletterre, in one of whose rooms Sergey Yesenin tragically took his own life. The decision by city authorities to tear down the building and build a new one in its place provoked a storm of outrage and spontaneous demonstrations by young people. And although the debated ended with a destructive victory by construction equipment and, as they say, the deed is done, it is still too soon to consider this case closed.

Because young people from the group "Spaseniye" [Preservation] continue to hold their vigil on the square even now, stating that they will remain there until a government commission is formed to investigate the circumstances surrounding the demolition of this historic building. And up until now emotions have often predominated in reporting on the recent events on St. Isaac's Square, and those who have taken on themselves all the weight of responsibility for such an explosive decision have been accused of barbarism and of an irresponsible attitude toward the cultural heritage of a great city.

Let us attempt to get to the bottom of this situation by examining it through the eyes of people who basically desire the same things yet through a quirk of circumstances find themselves on opposing sides.

Who Is Responsible?

(From the diary of T. Likhanova, a member of the "Spaseniye" group)

Monday, 16 March

Our "preservation group" has been holding a vigil outside the Angletterre since 7:00 am. Again there have been disquieting signs: workers at the

construction site report that they are to begin demolition work at 10 am. people are arriving, and more and more posters and banners in defense of the building are appearing; militia units are also arriving on the scene.

The construction supervisor arrived around noon. He tried to explain that it is impossible to preserve the building: wooden parts of the building, the so-called "sleepers" in the foundation are rotten. He said that Soviet technology was not capable of reinforcing or replacing them. The only possible solution was to tear everything down and then build a copy. I do not believe that. Firstly, because I do not want to believe -- no soulless copy could replace the original for us. But that, of course, is subjective and comes from the heart. Secondly, I know that it cannot be true that there is no possibility of saving the building: experts from Lenzhilproyekt [Design Institute of the Leningrad City Soviet Housing Administration] has explained that there exists a wide range of engineering and technical means for preserving buildings, even ones in such a state. Specifically, a department of the engineering and construction institute is studying ways to reinforce foundations, and they have many solutions for this type of problem, for example, replacement of wooden structures with concrete. That is objective fact.

A crew of workers has arrived. They explain that they have just received instructions to begin tearing down the building.

"But your foreman was just here, and he guaranteed that no demolition work would be done during the next few days!"

"Well, call him, we'll wait. But we have our instructions."

We call. We ask him to come, and he comes back. But this time he explains nothing. After conferring with the workers he leaves. They begin to dig around the building, saying that it is for the purpose of laying new cables. The crowd believes even less now that the building will not be torn down. There are suggestions that we gather signatures for telegrams to Moscow.

There are already many posters on the construction site fence appealing to the workers not to be accomplices in violation of the law, to stop work and not destroy our culture, posters bearing the final lines by Yesenin, written here in that fateful hour before he died, as well as our own verses expressing pain for the fate of our city. Nearby is a table manned by "Spaseniye" a group for the preservation of Leningrad's historical and cultural monuments (a young people's public organization which last fall joined the Center for Creative Initiative and has already won renown for its successful fight to save the Delvig House). On display there are the charter, objectives and tasks of the group, an account of destruction which has taken place in recent years and a list of current "sore points" in the city. There is also a sheet about one-and-a-half meters long which by midday is covered with the signatures of Leningraders demanding that the Angletierre be preserved. And not just Leningraders. Nearby is a poster belonging to some Muscovites: "The performers of Moscow support you. We are protesting together with you!"

And also, of course, the text of Article 19 of the USSR Law On the Preservation and Use of Historical and Cultural Monuments" -- precisely the law which is being violated by the demolition of this building without permission from the Ministry of Culture.

The crowd is getting bigger and bigger. There are already approximately 500 of us. The first provocateurs have also appeared.

We have attempted to reason with them, taken down bad posters on our own initiative, asked that the militia be respected and even posted a sign on the fence reading: "Comrades! Do not enter into conflict with the militia!" Doubters are convinced to change their minds.

I am sure that they will understand us and support us.

Tuesday, 17 March

Yesterday I came home after dark and drew posters. At 8:00 am I got a call from the square: the workers had begun to knock down the walls. At about 10:00 am I. P. Sautov, chief of the city's Historical Preservation Inspectorate, arrived on the scene.

He said that nothing could be done! Although if there had been no need to refurbish the Angletterre to conform with Intourist specifications, then the hotel would have stood another 100 or even 200 years.

While we were talking with Sautov the workers brought down a section of wall about one meter high and three or four meters long.

A newsreel film crew arrived, and a television crew, too. They filmed and talked with us. True, neither crew was sure that their films would actually be shown.

"People! Trucks are approaching the construction site! Don't let them through, don't let them tear it down!"

Everyone rushed to the gates and formed a human barricade in front of them.

A schedule was drawn up of who would keep watch at night; whole families stayed there, with children.

At about 6:00 pm several of our representatives went to the ispolkom. They spoke with L. I. Zagorovskaya, assistant to the deputy chairman of the ispolkom. At first they accused us of being dilettantes and tried to overwhelm us with their professional knowledge of the case, but they did not succeed: it turned out that Aleksey Kovalev, the chairman of our preservation group, had complete information concerning the technical possibility of preserving the building and about the legal violations being committed by the ispolkom in sanctioning the demolition work. We were unable to come to any sort of an agreement. ...Today we collected about 800 more signatures.



Wednesday, 18 March

I got a call at 8:30 am. They reported that we were invited to a 10:00 am interview with Khodyrev, the chairman of the Leningrad Gorispolkom. I was astounded by this miracle and went. True, we were not received by Khodyrev himself, but by his deputy B. A. Surovtsev instead. As we entered his office he smiled cordially, shook hands with us, courteously asked us to be seated and joked in a friendly manner. Then he introduced the people gathered in his office: V. I. Matviyenko, deputy chairman of the ispolkom, L. I. Zagorovskaya, assistant deputy chairman of the ispolkom, I. P. Sautov, chief of the city's Historical Preservation Inspectorate, S. I. Sokolov, the city's chief architect and author of the plan for the "reconstruction" of the Hotel Astoria, the editor-in-chief of the newspaper SMENA and representatives from the city Komsomol committee.

First they spoke at length about the plan and showed us blueprints and photographs. They said that the structure had outlived its usefulness, and that therefore it was necessary to tear it down -- that was the experts' opinion.

We were doubtful as to the objectivity of the experts' conclusions. They accused us of tactlessness. We attempted to object: this was not the first case of juggling with facts. One specific example was House #17 on Marat Street. Lenzhilproyekt's conclusion was that the building needed to be condemned, had outlived its usefulness, its wooden beams were rotten and the building could not be preserved. After the building was turned over to the Restavrator Association the funds and means for restoring it were found. Now that mansion glistens like a new toy.

We talked for about three hours: about openness in the city's construction policy, about competitions which, in our opinion, should be held for all construction designs in historic areas, and about public participation in discussion of those designs.

Thoroughly worn out by this protracted and verbose discussion, we hurried out of the ispolkom building onto the square. The building's walls were already being prepared for destruction from within, and a crowd of about 1,000 had gathered: hard-core "fighters" and approximately an equal number of sympathizers and spectators. Kovalev informed the crowd of the results of our interview and stated that we should appeal to the construction workers, and if within half an hour they did not stop work we would be forced to rise to the defense of the Angletterre. People expressed loud support for this and said that they would stand at the walls of the building if anyone dared to tear it down...

To Whose Advantage Is It?

S. Sokolov, chief architect of Leningrad:

"On the opening day of the 20th All-Union Komsomol Congress Leningrad Television presented the young people's program "Contours." There was frank discussion of issues relating to the preservation of Leningrad's architectural



monuments. Naturally there was also discussion of the events surrounding the Hotel Angleterre. In the course of that discussion I in particular was the object of caustic remarks by a certain writer who works at the Pushkin House. His remarks were peremptory and based on the idea that he represented 'the people' -- ordinary Leningraders, who have a right to their own opinion on all matters, architectural matter included."

"No one would dispute that. But here is the curious part: when I asked my esteemed opponent to send me his latest manuscript so that I could review it in my capacity as 'the people', i.e. as an average reader, and make corrections in it, he was sincerely surprised: 'But you are not a specialist!' he said, and refused my request."

"I was not offended, and I realize that everyone has a jealous attitude toward what he or she does and has a right to want people to appraise that work professionally. Well, what are we to do, we architects and restorers, whose every step is thoroughly evaluated by thousands and thousands of people, many of whom often know very little about the specific nature and difficulties of our work? It is easy to criticize us, and there can be quite a few grounds for such criticism, yet in the case of the Angleterre let us appeal to logic and ask ourselves this elementary question: which of the people responsible for the preservation of Leningrad's unique beauty would suddenly be seized with the desire to be an Erostratus?"

"Unfortunately time takes its toll; its is more powerful than bronze or stone. The film 'Zhivite v dome, i ne rukhnet dom' [Live in the House and the House Will Not Collapse] by Leningrad documentary filmmaker V. Matveyeva is aptly named. Incidentally, that film makes reference to the 'Mir' group, which helped with deeds rather than words to restore the Pushkin memorial at Moyka #12. But, you will agree, it is better to live in a building with modern conveniences. Especially if that building is a hotel whose degree of comfort will in large part determine guests' first impressions of our country. And the Astoria hotel complex (which includes the building of the former Hotel Angleterre and House #22 on Gogol Street) is not up to modern standards at all."

"A little historical background. The Hotel Astoria itself was built in 1913 according to a design by well-known architect F. I. Lidval and is an architectural monument of local significance. The neighboring Hotel Angleterre has existed (as a three-story stone building) since the end of the 18th century. During the 19th century it was repeatedly renovated. The exterior as we now see it took form largely during capital repairs carried out in 1912. Since the tragic events connected with S. Yesenin in 1925 it has been renovated three times. The room in which the poet lived has not been preserved. The Angleterre, just like House #22, which was built during the first quarter of the 19th century, is by no means an architectural monument."

"Would it have been possible to preserve them in their original appearance (although here the questions arise as to which century's exterior should be used as a model)? I would submit that that would have been possible; modern science and technology make it possible literally to perform miracles. But those miracles are terribly expensive and require a great deal of labor and

time. And in this case small expenditures would be completely inadequate. According to a report by Lenzhilproyekt completed in 1981, both the aforementioned buildings are in a badly deteriorated state: the wooden roof beams are rotten, and the numerous changes have weakened the bearing strength of the first-story walls. The current level of the sidewalks around the buildings has risen higher than the waterproof level which separates the walls from the foundation, and moisture has begun to seep into the walls. According to data from the Leningrad Engineering and Construction Institute, the strength of bricks taken from partition walls on the first floor is below standard by factors of between four and seven. In addition, the Angleterre is basically poorly adapted to normal occupation by large numbers of people; its narrow shape would in any event not permit the construction there of a hotel with a convenient floor plan."

"Nevertheless plans to save the major walls were considered repeatedly. Unfortunately calculations indicated definitively that that would be completely futile."

"Now a word about the legal aspect of the issue. All three buildings are part of the unified historic zone in the heart of Leningrad. That zone was developed at the initiative of Leningrad architects and approved by the Leningrad Gorispolkom in 1969, long before the passage of the USSR Law on the Preservation and Use of Historical and Cultural Monuments and an analogous RSFSR law adopted subsequently. According to those laws, construction work in preservation zones is to be carried out only with permission from state monuments. In our organs for the preservations of historical and cultural city the Main Administration for Culture under the Leningrad Gorispolkom has been statutorily granted special authority for that purpose by the RSFSR Ministry of Culture. I am stressing that intentionally, because articles in several newspapers have stated that supposedly that administration was not consulted for its opinion, or else it would not have consented to the demolition of the Angleterre. No, it did grant permission, and the signature of the main administration chief is on the decision to tear down the building. According to a finding by the Leningrad procurer and the city's lawyers, the Leningrad Gorispolkom's actions in this case were acknowledged to have been legal and not in violation of existing legislation."

"We have been asked why we were suddenly in such a rush to tear down the building, whether the destruction work could not have been postponed."

"We started drawing up a plan for the restoration of the Hotel Astoria back in 1975. However, due to a lack of funds on the part of Intourist that plan could not be implemented for almost 12 years."

"According to a contract signed with the Finnish firm [Perusyukhtyuma] the building site was supposed to be ready by 1 June 1987. Under existing regulations it will take seven months to tear down the Angleterre and prepare the building site. So, logically the work should have been started last year. However, due to a holdup in the signing of the contract, and also in connection with the slowness with which neighboring buildings were emptied of their residents, this slowness resulting from the needs of the individuals being moved, we were unable to adhere to that schedule."

"Back in December the ispolkom held a meeting at which the departments involved were instructed to take all possible steps to prepare the construction site for the firm on time. If this is not done we will be required to pay a penalty of as much as one-and-a-half million rubles in hard currency."

"Our past experience with collaboration with Finnish builders allows us to state with certainty that the renovated Astoria complex, which will be ready to receive its first guests in August 1989, will meet the highest international standards. In the process the overall look of St. Isaac's Square, so familiar to Leningraders and foreign guests of our city alike, will be preserved completely. As for the Angleterre, its facade will be made to conform to the original plans contained in our archives. The facade of House #22 on Gogol Street will be recreated to match the dimensions of the old building. The old balcony railings and ornamental doors will be kept and restored, the stucco mouldings will be reproduced and the cast iron roof plates, currently missing, will be restored. It would be appropriate to place a plaque in memory of S. Yesenin on the building facade; prior to this time there has been no such memorial."

"I would like to note that the plans for restoration of the complex were published in ARKHITEKTURA I STROITELSTVO LENINGRADA, No 5, 1979. On 4 February 1987 VECHERNIY LENINGRAD published an interview by its correspondent with the director of the Hotel Astoria, in which the planned restoration of the complex was discussed. On 17 March (after, unfortunately, a two-week delay) LENINGRADSKAYA PRAVDA also printed an article written by me with a photograph of the future appearance of the Astoria complex. Thus, Leningraders with a serious interest in issues pertaining to the city's historic center are, I would submit, sufficiently well informed on this subject, and have been for some time."

"Well, what can be said about those who came to protest on St. Isaac's Square? I would like to believe that all of them are truly seriously concerned about the fate of historic monuments and were attracted to the square by a sincere desire to further that cause."

"But no matter what happens after this, the present sensational -- that is the only word for it -- attention to the Angleterre is a good lesson for us as professionals. We have never avoided contacts with the press, but we also rarely take the initiative in informing the public in advance concerning our plans for building, destruction or restoration. Systematic discussion of the most important city building projects should be the rule, not the exception. There should be broad discussions during which decisions having the public's approval will be arrived at."

"Yes, we all need to learn how to work under conditions of openness. The ispolkm of the Leningrad City Soviet will draw the proper conclusion from the events which have occurred. Specifically, it has already been decided that a permanent exhibit showing plans for the renovation of buildings in the city will be created at Architects' House. All new decisions concerning renovation

of old buildings will be announced at the appropriate time in the Leningrad newspapers, over radio and on television."

#### A Journalist's Opinion

To the above it should be added that the bureau of the CPSU's obkom has, after discussion of the status of preservation and reconstruction of historical and cultural monuments in Leningrad, informed the leadership of the Leningrad City Soviet of People's Deputies of the need for radical restructuring of its operational style and methods and broad inclusion of the public in decisions regarding the city's economic and social development.

There is no doubt that the many unnecessary obstacles in the way of those wishing to make the best contribution they can to preservation of our beloved city's appearance will be removed.

There will be more and more such people, as demonstrated by the appearance of a number of informal groups which are dissatisfied with the passive role played by the All-Russian Society for the Preservation of Historical and Cultural Monuments, its lack of genuine rights and its inability to unite and make skillful use of young people's energy. And the kids from "Spaseniye" should not be offended by this, but on a purely human level I feel somewhat closer to and can better understand the stance taken by the people who "agitated" in the Peter and Paul Fortress, the former Catherine's Church and at Moyka #12 -- not with words, but with work.

In conclusion I would remind readers that it was Leningrad which in 1984 was the first major European city to be awarded the Gold Medal of the International European Fund for the Preservation, Restoration and Popularization of Historical and Cultural Monuments, and that its restorers were awarded a Lenin Prize in 1986.

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CSO: 1800/745



PUBLIC REACTION TO RAZING OF HISTORIC INN DISCUSSED

Leningrad LENINGRADSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 12 Apr 87 p 3

[Article by Yu. Novikov, senior architect of the State Inspection Committee for the Preservation of Monuments: "To Touch the City's Fate."]

[Text] "It Should Become a Rule!" An immense stack of readers' letters, phone calls to the editorial board and even the ongoing debates on Isaakiyevskaya Square demonstrate that the "lessons of Angleter" continue to upset many Leningraders. As was to be expected, this discussion concerned much more than the fate of a single building - readers are asking questions about publicizing the decisions that are made and about creating an institute of public opinion, especially when the topic of discussion is the historical and cultural heritage of our city. At times, points of view are expressed which are poles apart.

"Why were we, the city inhabitants, not asked for advice? The old willful-decision syndrome immediately went into play here," think letter writers, L. Filippov, M. Gromova, Yu. Yarogov, tour guide N. Przhevalskaya, A. Ykhnaev, D. Yesenin and others.

"The events at the Angleter helped many people look at their city through new eyes and feel that even they had some responsibility for all that happened," maintain Leningraders, N. Zhuravskiy, Yu. Tarasev, N. Matinyan, O. Balabina, artist-restorer Yu. Makarov.

"Why didn't the newspaper harshly criticize the behavior of the young people on the square?" asks M. Vasin, engineer V. Kozlov, worker B. Sidorov.

"There were a lot of 'defenders' and 'rescuers' near the inn who were loudly proclaiming their love for the city. But tell me, in which direction were all these 'guardian angels' looking when stones were thrown before their eyes, windows broken in telephone booths and the streets littered? Somehow these instances did not reflect their zeal," note readers V. Glebov, engineer Yu. Zabolotskiy, economist Yu. Zhukovskaya.

"I feel we should put the great interest our young people are showing in history and culture to intelligent and skillful use," thinks candidate of

physical and mathematical sciences, N. Sukhomlin. "And it is absolutely necessary that the press discuss in advance all plans for the renovation of old sections of the city." The same opinion was expressed by our reader, V. Pletinskiy, "There must be constant communication between the press and planning organizations. The public should receive precise information about the renovation of a historical section of the city in advance. This should be an established rule."

"I think that the city soviet should hold a session based on letters from city inhabitants, in which they give their suggestions, advice and criticism," writes A. Besschastnov.

These are the basic themes of the readers' mail. This quick overview by the editorial board will be presented to the city soviet of people's deputies, just as it was reported to us. In a few days, the ispolkom of the city soviet will begin reviewing the question of measures to be taken to preserve Leningrad's monuments. Thus, our readers' opinions will certainly be brought to the attention of the deputies.

"I would like to hear the opinion of the State Inspection Committee for the Preservation of Monuments," a labor veteran, T. Zinoveva, writes to the editorial board. We are concluding our survey of the mail with this request and give the floor to one of the leading specialists of the inspection committee, senior architect, Yu. Novinov.

It is probably the first time in many years that we Leningraders are witnessing such active and direct public concern over the fate of historical and cultural monuments. The public in this instance is not so much highly professional, venerable and gray with age, rather it is young. That is, those same young people who are already accustomed to being blamed for a total lack of principles and ideas, for dependency and immaturity.

We have seen the passionate interest of our young fellow citizens in the matter of cultural heritage. And although this interest is manifested at times in utterly unusual ways, it leaves no doubt as to the genuine civic enthusiasm of the young generation.

However, in order to take complete advantage of this turbulent energy, it is necessary to determine its components. For even a fleeting glance at the people gathered on Isaakiyevskaya Square and in the halls of the palaces of culture demonstrated that the willingness to participate in the preservation of national heritage was present in many people for different reasons and motivations. The overwhelming majority fell into the category of those who were truly deeply interested in preserving the irreplaceable character of our city, and who had with genuine pain suffered the loss of yet another historical site in Leningrad. However, among them could be glimpsed others, depressingly familiar faces ... Aggressive graphomaniacs, who very recently, to my memory, zealously flung mud at a "favorite poet." Ubiquitous "looters" who specialize in plundering houses which are undergoing major renovation. These "valuers of antiquity" are in no way stuffing their pockets with shameless profiteering using artistic and historic valuables through a love for art.

Fortunately however, such characters were encountered quite rarely to my observation in this crowd of many faces. Perhaps it would not even have been worth mentioning them if they had not spoiled the general picture, if they had not thrown a shadow on those who had brought to the square the sincere impulse of their souls.

Another fact is worth mentioning. At mass debates, both spontaneous and organized, on more than one occasion people were asked to raise their hands who had directly participated in clearing the debris at the Petrapaolovskiy Fortress, at the Polish Roman Catholic Church of Yekaterina, in the Chinese village in Pushkin, at Valam and at the renovation of the Taitskiy water conduit. Of the hundreds of participants in the debates a couple of dozen hands were raised. Of course, the hand-made slogans "Let's save culture!" are not a crude spade, and earning a certain amount of popularity among one's peers is apparently easier than developing work callouses. Nevertheless, it seems to me that those who raised their hands would have been significantly greater in number if at one time even minimum conditions had been set by the social, Komsomol and soviet organizations for arousing the interest of the city's young people in helping to preserve national culture, if from childhood a genuine love for this culture had been instilled in them.

In my opinion, the time has come to resolve a whole series of questions which have been raised by life itself. For example, timely notification of city inhabitants concerning planned renovations and intervention into the traditional character of architectural harmony, especially in the historical section of Leningrad and its suburbs. There can be no compromises in this matter: constant communication and a broad exchange of opinions are necessary. Publicity is becoming an indispensable condition of urban development and modern conducting of the urban economy.

Attention deserves to be paid to a proposal by Leningrad's head architect, S. I. Sokolov, concerning the necessity for introducing regular public debates regarding the most important urban development problems, so that the public can be informed of planned measures in advance, discuss in the form of debates the plans and their variations, listen to all the arguments and arrive at the optimal solution.

I think that the comments made to the All-Union Society for the Preservation of Historical and Cultural Monuments are completely justified. It should be admitted that the recent appearance of spontaneous youth movements and informal groups has engendered to a significant extent passiveness in the society, a perfunctory attitude toward its work and an inability to attract active public and primarily young involvement.

At present, the Komsomol organizations are also receiving a great deal of condemnation. The Komsomol obkom and gorkom did not react at all to proposals concerning the organization of "cultural construction detachments" which were distinctly announced in the Leningrad press. Things cannot continue as they are. It is time to bring a halt to the amateur approach to this most important matter, relying solely on public enthusiasm which is not reinforced by either the necessary organizational measures or material resources. It is necessary

to welcome in every way possible, as the first signs, the appearance of independent groups of "public restorers" and their desire to make a specific contribution to the preservation of monuments and the architectural environment. However, this rush of amateur enthusiasts will prove to be of no value without active assistance from the Komsomol. For until now they have been forced to search for a place to apply their involvement themselves, procure materials and tools, get to the work site and huddle together in makeshift accommodations. On this basis, we will be unable to remove the mountains of debris that have accumulated for decades due to bad management and indifference.

An enthusiastic and interested attitude is required on the part of the Main Administration of Culture, as well as supervisory assistance from large organizations. It would be expedient to strengthen such construction detachments by including in their ranks senior classmen, teachers and qualified workers who would be able to conduct the matter with professional skill.

Many of the monuments and cultural sites in Leningrad and its oblast can and should become targets of intense work on the part of young people. Everyone hopes for action there, both the professional and the amateur who does not have any construction or restoration training. Powerful, strong young hands are needed. For example, in suburban parks and at the two-hundred-year-old Tait'skiy water conduit. At the neglected forts on the Finnish Gulf... Specialists in diverse fields of expertise are needed in order to bring order to the areas adjoining the ancient parks and at our unique Slavyankas, Izhoras and Strelkas which are beginning to resemble sewage ditches... Competitive plans from students of art and engineering VUZes are needed, which could compete with those of institute employees.

In short, there is much to be done. As long as young city dwellers do not gather on Isaakiyevskaya Square, I can assure you, there is enough work for everyone. All that is necessary is for the fine and appropriate words to be followed by the desire to make one's specific contribution to the preservation of the character of our beloved city. To touch its fate with our hands.

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CSO: 1800/654



# ARTISTS' UNION POSES BARRIERS FOR YOUNG MEMBERS

Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 17 May 87 p 4

[Article by A. Morozov, secretary of the governing board of the Moscow Branch, RSFSR Union of Artists: "A Shortage of Talent".]

[Text] When will the barriers preventing young artists from growing and working be overcome?

Young artists... Most of them in our branch of the union are way over thirty. For example, the Moscow Branch of the Union of Artists has a Komsomol organization. If it were any quieter and inconspicuous, it would be as though it did not exist at all...

The election conference of the Moscow Branch of the Union of Artists comes to mind. The temperature in the hall jumped when the speaker reading the report from the mandate committee announced that of the nine hundred delegates, only 2.5 percent were young members of the union. Everyone seemed uncomfortable. But this fact should not have come as a surprise to anyone. During the elections at the conference, young members were simply struck from the ballot papers. Struck quite amicably. But now everyone seems ashamed...

We art critics did not fare much better. We were able to elect only one or two young people. We would have been happy to elect more, but there are fewer than a dozen people in our section under thirty-five. Why? The union has exacting professional requirements for admission.

In the section bureaus, artists' councils and exhibition committees, young artists are frequently silent and inactive. However, the current state of affairs in the union prevents it from being any other way! The youth problem is a reflection of long-standing ailments...

...The art VUZ, for example, has been programmed to produce "geniuses" in the style of the last century. They teach their students how to paint "great works of art." Of course, there are VUZes that prepare artists for industry, for work in polygraphy, architecture, the theater and cinema. However, it is a fact that most graduates with applied fields of expertise yearn to work "freely", to work at the easel, including doing paintings. The question is which artists should enter this field of "fine arts"; who should they be?

In training the craftsman, and what is more with an extremely narrow

In training the craftsman, and what is more with an extremely narrow professional outlook (which is restricted by academic principles established no later than the 1900's), our art school often overlooks the person and citizen. More precisely, it is content with filling the young artist's head with dry cliches from textbooks on aesthetics. These cliches are bad, not so much because they are boring (although for pedagogics this is a considerable miscalculation!), much worse is that our textbooks offer answers to the most burning issues of art which are ineffective and incapable of convincing and inspiring either the artist or you and I. I am certain that it would not occur to a single intelligent student at an art VUZ to look for the answer to important questions concerning the essence of his life's mission in textbooks. Would they perhaps turn to the teachers then?

However, most of the great artists, whose work excites today's audience, are not found within the walls of art VUZes.

Not only are they not invited there, great pains are often taken to keep them out. There are few leading artists of the contemporary art world among expert-teachers. As is true of the theoretical disciplines, the primary policy of the Art Academy is aimed at transforming art institutes into preservers of stagnation. Academy intellectuals proclaim all that is alive in the study of art and art theory as nothing other than alien to the socialist consciousness. Almost the same thing happened during the 40's, at the time of the inglorious war between impressionism and other similar "isms", and simultaneously between outstanding Soviet artist-professors, Favorskiy, Osmerkin, Deyneka and S. Gerasimov.

This would be impossible to forget. These famous names are now permanently etched in our minds. However, the very same principles and almost the very same people that are to blame for many of the disturbing dramas of the history of Soviet fine arts, continue to shape the policies of our art education. What will be the result?

The result is an "artistic" young person, one of whose main characteristics proves to be civic passiveness. It is simply amazing how readily our young artistic generation at times accepts any rules of the game and how incapable they are of suggesting their own! Yes, yes, they were not taught how to do this, but sooner or later young people become adults. Infantile adults. Today's Artists' Union milieu and its entire economic system has also been programmed for complacent, hackneyed and mediocre functioning.

It is time to demolish this system. And who can demolish it if not the young people! However, it appears that the young people are the last to want to demolish anything, much less suggest a constructive solution.

No, it would be unfair to assert that young artists are completely devoid of dynamism. The 17th Moscow Young People's Exhibition and All-Union "Youth of the Country" at the Manezh enjoyed success. Admittedly, however, the novelty of the exhibits was certainly not the fruits of the initiative of the young artists themselves. They had "signed up" for a program offered by a few obviously talented people.

There are thousands of young artists in our country, and hundreds more graduate every year. They flow into the sea of those who do not want to be salaried but free artists. At present, yet another art institute is being created within the RSFSR Ministry of Culture system. Where and in what capacity will its graduates gain employment? There is definitely an overproduction of artists in our section. We do not have an optimal system for applying their abilities. The older artists do not worry about this. The government has had no time for it yet. However, the artistic youth, who have the greatest interest in solving the problem, are not rushing to suggest ideas.

...On the tide of current social changes, diverse winds are raging. What concerns me, and at times even insults me, is how easy it is in our creative lives to accomplish under the guise of noble slogans no more than a change in attitude in the situation. A plus is changed to a minus. This desire is psychologically explainable, especially if we remember how fruitlessly and long other "pluses" have been hammered into our heads. The fact that today quite a large number of young artists are showing a great interest in avant-garde experiment is the result of chronic mistakes in the art policies conducted in our section, alienation from the present times and man. It is foolish to forbid today's "leftistism." It needs to be outgrown, especially since without creative endeavor, which frequently appears contradictory and unfathomable to one's associates, art cannot breath.

We'll suppose we exchanged bombastic "thematic" paintings for "outrageous" canvases or abstract ones for some super-abstruse, conceptual works of art. But in actual fact, in essence, we are exchanging a situation which has outgrown itself for a situation offered by the art market of the West. In comparison, the most daring of our current seeker-experimenters have not conceived so much as a single original dot. Are we indeed so immature that we are searching for the solution to our own spiritual problems in some borrowed stereotype?

I understand that it is not easy for the artist to solve such problems. In order to understand and become convinced, he must first try many things. However, in order to do this he needs genuine intellectual courage. The independent mind of a true personality. The common sense of a capable collective. In my opinion, there is currently a most disappointing shortage of these talents among young artists.

Today, many are placing their hopes on the reorganization of the structure of the Artists' Union. On the creation within it of various types of associations. By this I mean groups of artists and art critics who want to work together on various complex projects and programs. This is viewed as a prospect for the solution to many chronic problems in our fine arts. For, to a great extent, the associations can work on a cost-accounting basis. However, here is what becomes strikingly evident. Until now, associations have been arising without socially broad programs. Their work is predominantly of an advertising and commercial nature.

There are many questions. And they should not be allowed to remain unanswered at the 6th RSFSR Congress of Artists, which will begin its work in a few days.

The path to art is the path to the minds and hearts of the people. And it begins in no other way than with the yearning to have ONE'S SAY.

BELORUSSIAN WRITER OF WAR NOVELS INTERVIEWED

Moscow OGONEK in Russian No 19, May 87 pp 2-5

[Interview with Vasil Vladimirovich Bykov by Feliks Medvedev: "The Grass After Us"; first three paragraphs are source introduction]

[Excerpts] MINSK TANKOVAYA STREET NO 18 APT 132 TO VASIL VLADIMIROVICH BYKOV STOP REQUEST THAT YOU REPLY TO FOLLOWING QUESTIONS BY OGONEK CORRESPONDENT FELIKS MEDVEDEV STOP FIRST QUESTION DOES IT NOT SEEM TO YOU THAT RECENTLY READERS HAVE SHOWN LESS INTEREST IN LITERATURE ON MILITARY SUBJECTS STOP IF YOU AGREE THEN WHAT IS THE REASON FOR THIS STOP

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Vasil Bykov and his creative work continue to excite readers. New works from the pen of this well-known Belorussian prose writer, who writes primarily "about the war," immediately set fire to human hearts, alarm the spirit and make people think and preserve memories.

I had long wanted to meet this writer and talk with him. A modest and shy man who is very much involved in public affairs and is not fond of idle talk and self-aggrandizement, Vasil Vladimirovich was completely unable to find time for such a meeting. Then I sent him a telegram with questions, aware that he would be coming to Moscow for the plenum of the USSR Union of Writers: when the writer came to Moscow he was in a mood to talk. I interviewed him at the Hotel Rossiya, where he was staying, and we sat together for two days at the writers' forum in the Central House of Writers.

[Bykov] Recently I warned in the press that such a decline in interest was to be expected. The problem is that we are long and firmly accustomed to existing within the framework of various social and political campaigns, which follow one another over the decades with an astonishingly well-regulated constancy. Just recently we loudly and ecstatically celebrated the 40th anniversary of our victory in the Great Patriotic War, and that was obviously a time when there occurred an inevitable overexpenditure of energy devoted to commemoration and enthusiasm. A natural decline has since set in, a decline in attention to and interest in the issues of the last war and literature concerning it.



Concerning many things, even some very valuable ones, we have no firmly grounded opinion, we are to a considerable extent subject to fashion and campaign, we are constantly hungry for new things and [epatazh], and if we do not have them we very quickly turn to other issues and dubious values...

[Medvedev] In a recent interview in OGONEK Grigoriy Baklanov said that, as experience has shown, "the most significant books about the war have been written by those who took part in it. That is the way it has always been." That would mean that those who did not, that is everyone who is under the age of 50 today, cannot write on the subject of the war. Do you agree with that opinion?

[Bykov] It is difficult not to agree with Baklanov, although this opinion is hardly likely to please many young writers. But in such cases the best way out for me is to point to the example of the young Belorussian writer Svetlana Aleksiyeovich, who was born after the war. She did not write fables about the war, but instead went out, tape recorder in hand, and talked with women who fought in the war, recording hundreds of their accounts, and from these she compiled a book. This book rang fresh and sincere even in Belorussian literature, in which, as you are aware, a great deal has been written about the war, and written well. Then a new book by Aleksiyeovich was published, one dealing with the memoirs of teenagers who experienced the war. Is that not an example for those who are too young to have fought, but who have discovered that they have an inclination toward the subject, does this not show the fruitfulness of the aforementioned method? Taking the other route, that of pure imagination, no matter how fruitful it is, cannot guard one against second-hand narration, approximation and emotional oversimplification, especially in comparison with the powerful works on the war which have been written by those who actually experienced it.

[Medvedev] Vasil Vladimirovich, in the opinion of some critics and writers you are the one who has been most successful in giving a natural depiction in words of the cruel nature of the war. When I read that I always think to myself: have not other writers also told the truth about that harsh and grand era?

[Bykov] I myself am not of that opinion. On the contrary, I think that it is other authors, especially in Russian literature (Simonov, Smirnov, Baklanov, Bondarev, Vorobyev, Krutilin, Astafyev, Adamovich, Gusarov and others) who have written more and, most importantly, better than I who got a late start and to a large extent took advantage of their experience in one way or another. Perhaps my contribution lies in the fact that I have been bolder about simplifying and bringing into focus certain characters and situations in places where other authors have striven for greater artistry and novel-like detail. But we still do not know who will be the winner in the end, and who the loser: that will be determined by merciless time alone.

[Medvedev] A critic once accused you of "Hemarqueism." Did you consider that an insult, feel offended? Because, unfortunately, some of our venerable writers -- and this was mentioned at the plenum of the USSR Union of Writers -- have begun to perceive even the most insignificant critical comment directed at them as a personal affront.

[Bykov] Naturally I have been offended by many unjust accusations directed at me, but just not at this particular reproach. At that time I was already well aware that the bestowing of labels and accusation of all sorts of "isms" is a timeworn device used by a certain type of critics, but as for Remarque and his famous novel in particular, I have too much respect for that author to feel offended at being regarded as one of his successors. Remarque was a great humanitarian writer, one who came to our readers at a time which was fortunate for us and fortunately roused our suddenly enlightened heads with his images.

[Medvedev] There is truth about the war expressed in such works of yours as "Zhuravlinyy krik [The Call of the Crane], "Tretya raketa" [The Third Rocket], "Alpiyskaya ballada" [Alpine Ballad], "Ataka s khodu" [Attack on the Run], "Kruglyanskiy most" [The Kruglyanskiy Bridge], "Obelisk," "Dozhit do rassveta" [To Live Until Dawn] and others. There is truth about our history, and truth about our modern, fast-paced era.

Tell me, can we expect books from you which are, if I may put it that way, not about the war?

[Bykov] Recently I have more and more often had that desire, and I think that there are adequate causes for that in the world around me. But as for the recent past and its astounding problems, as a realist I never cease to regret that I do not have the gift of the immortal Mikhail Yevgrafovich Saltykov-Shchedrin, whose unique talent so brilliantly depicted the entire degree of illogic in many social phenomena which have successfully survived to the present day.

(Interviewer's note: Chingiz Aytmatov has written that "fate spared Vasil Bykov for us so that he could live and write on behalf of a whole generation, on behalf of those who saw war as boys and grew to manhood with weapons in hand, for whom a day of life was equal to a century of life." On the obelisk over one of the mass graves near Kirovograd Bykov's name is listed among the fallen. A unique situation for a frontline veteran. I asked Vasil Vladimirovich how that happened.)

[Bykov] In the winter of 1944 the rifle battalion in which I was serving was wiped out near Kirovograd. For a short time that area was captured by the Germans. Our units were thrown back, the battalion was almost completely crushed by German tanks and the commander was killed, as were many soldiers. Then the fascists pulled back, but a snow storm which had begun on the steppe covered the site of the fighting and the bodies of the dead. Local villagers only buried the dead in March, after the snow had melted. At that time our front line was already far away, on the South Bug River. Therefore all our dead could not be identified. Some had documents, and they were identified. And those who had no documents remained unknown. In the village of Bolshaya Severinka approximately 150 men are buried in a mass grave, and not all their names were ascertained. In the same battle I was wounded and after several days of adventures I reached a field hospital of the 5th Tank Army, that is, a hospital attached to another army. My knapsack was left behind on the battlefield, and my documents were in it. Therefore I was listed among the dead in documents at headquarters, since I had not returned to my own unit.

[Medvedev] Are you attracted to those places where you were during the war years, where you fought, where you spent a portion of your youth?

[Bykov] I have been to some of the places. In Hungary, for example. Of course, the places have changed, and there is much which it is difficult to recognize. Naturally I am attracted to the places where I fought, where my youthful years passed. But I am of the opinion that there is no need to strive for a meeting with the past, because disappointments are inevitable. Because the reality never coincides with the image which has been created in your memory. And you know, I understand why Marc Chagall did not visit Vitebsk when he came to the Soviet Union. He probably did the right thing. This intelligent old man realized that he would not be able to find that which did not exist. Because postwar Vitebsk is a completely changed city. Although the house and the street where Chagall lived still exist this does not mean that they exist in the way in which they live in his memory. Therefore, in order not to destroy something dear in oneself one should not seek it out again.

Incidentally, since I have mentioned that great artist, I would like to note that the Belorussian intelligentsia is grateful to Andrey Voznesenskiy, who published an essay on Chagall in OGONEK, ahead of any of us. Of course, we in Belorussia should have been the first to write about Chagall. But there we unfortunately still have a some confusion regarding the name and the creative work of this now world-renowned artist. The old, almost Biblical truth is repeated once again: a prophet is without renown in his own homeland. An artist passes away, and then we begin to acknowledge him, looking retrospectively at something or at someone. In the fall I talked with the administration of Vitebsk Oblast about founding a Chagall museum, and it seemed that there were no particular objections, but no concrete action has been taken, either.

[Medvedev] But what was it that made you decide to take up the pen? Relate your recollections about that.

[Bykov] I wrote my first short story in the Kuril Islands, where I was continuing my service during the first postwar years. I, and not just I, but also many other frontline veterans were reading about the war then, did not want to read about it. The war was still too real in our minds. We were trying to distance ourselves from it as quickly as we could, trying to break that link with the past. But after some time had passed I began to read books about the war written by quite well-known writers, but I realized that those accounts of the war did not satisfy me. It seemed to me that what I was reading had nothing to do with my personal experience, that somehow it had all been different. That is why I attempted to write my first short story out of purely argumentative motives. Then I wrote a second, and a third. Of course, they were weak and bad. I tried to get them published, but nothing came of it. And for many years I gave up my attempts to become a writer. In 1955, after I was demobilized, I got a job at a newspaper and once again began to write, even publishing my first book of short stories. True, they were humorous stories. Later I wrote several things about young people. And only at the end of the 1950's had I become firmly settled on military subjects.

(Interviewer's note: "I do not like my childhood," wrote Bykov. "A life of hunger, a time when I had to go to school, and nothing to eat or to wear... The only things which gave me joy were nature and books. In the summer there was the lake, the forest, and fishing. When there was enough time to spare, of course. Because I had to work. I had to, in fact I was forced to.")

Vasil Bykov was born on 19 June 1924 near Vitebsk. Currently Moscow movie theaters are showing a two-part film entitled "Znak very" [Sign of Faith], based on his story by the same name. Autumn of 1941... Stepanida and her husband Petrok, already getting on in years, live on a farmstead lost among enemy-controlled Belorussian land. Once the police bring Germans who have taken over a nearby village to their house to billet them there. In the description of the Bogatkovs are traits of the writer's own parents.

Vasil Bykov's works are well known. But not everyone knows that three monographs have been written about the writer himself. Of course, these contain biographical information. The reader who is interested in Bykov's work can garner some information about him from articles and interviews about him, interviews which, incidentally, he seldom grants. Therefore I began to ask Vasil Vladimirovich about his childhood, about his family and his parents. I asked whether he has children and whether he is content with them. I asked about his perception of his work and about his wide renown in his homeland.

And, by the way, I asked whether he is understood by his fellow Belorussians, by the people whom he meets and with whom he lives, from whose lives he draws the material for his books. Do they understand the significance of literature and writing? Do they have a sense of how much he is needed?)

[Bykov] My parents were peasants. I lived with them until the war. My father died 25 years ago, my mother three years ago.

I have two sons; one is in the military, the other is a physician. It is hard to say whether I am content with them. Because parents do have a biased opinion of their children. And therefore it is difficult to avoid extremes, to avoid under- or overestimating them. But I suppose that their lives are their business. Since they chose a path for themselves they are responsible for that path. I have not interfered. Any advisor always takes a risk. Risking that his advice will not lead in the right direction, and that that will always rest on his conscience.

Perhaps fame has come to me in recent years. Generally I think that simple people do not notice things like fame and glory. I remember how I once went back to the area where I grew up, and there I went fishing on a lake with one old fellow. At that time I was working at the newspaper. He said: I know that you write, but do you work anywhere? I said: I work in an editorial office. In an editorial office? So you write there. But do you work somewhere? And that was as far as the conversation got. A person who has spent his whole life doing physical labor cannot understand that you scribble on paper with a pen, and that you get paid for it to boot. Maybe that is your personal form of amusement, but work is something else altogether. You must earn your bread with your muscles.



I am afraid that the significance of literature in the lives of the people is declining to an ever greater extent. I remember the years of my youth and childhood, when a book was a rarity in our village. And if there was a book, it was read. Everyone read it: friends, relatives, fellow workers, neighbors. They also read all the books in the school libraries and in other libraries as well.

Now the situation is different. There are many books in village bookstores. We recently experienced a book "boom." Now it seems to be ebbing. But even during the boom, I believe, a great deal was bought, but not nearly so much was read. Today a village gets along by using television, from which it draws all its information concerning the outside world. And people read too little. They read too little in school. Schoolchildren try not to read, and since all our classics have been filmed they can get by without reading books. This is bad, of course. But I do not see any solution. In any event not in the near future.

[Medvedev] Vasil Vladimirovich, do you ever think that there might come a time when people will stop reading altogether? Your books included. Could that happen?

[Bykov] Absolutely. Why not? And everyone who is involved in setting publishing policy needs to think about that. On the one hand, publishers cannot flood the book market with books which are not in demand and do not sell. That would be unnatural in economic terms and probably morally as well. But, on the other hand, publishers should not pander to the public's mass taste. If we take that direction, as has been done in the West, then literature will become kitsch and only pseudo-literature will have widespread popularity. Because, strange as it may seem, over the course of many decades of our cultural construction the cultural level of our mass reader has not risen very much. Unfortunately, we are continuing to arouse interest in works which are by no means worth the effort.

[Medvedev] Currently works are being published which for a long time did not reach the reading public for various reasons. But we are hearing voices, including those of some writers, saying: why should we publish such things, why get involved in literary necrophilia? What is your opinion on this matter?

[Bykov] That things written in previous decades are being published now is absolutely as it should be. Moreover it would be simply criminal to continue to ignore good things which have appeared in our literature. Cannot people see that this needs to be done, even if only in the name of justice? Because for many decades many writers were ostracized from the Russian literary circle for various reasons. At one time Yesenin was ostracized, too. At one time absolutely epochal works by Bunin could not be published. If that course had continued to be followed what irreparable losses our literature would have suffered! For some reason a certain old custom is very vigorous among us: we have great respect for the dead. While a writer is alive he can be kept out of publication and insulted, but after his death we suddenly discover what a remarkable artist he was. That even applied to Pushkin.

[Medvedev] Not an original question, but one which is important and timely: what do you think about restructuring?

[Bykov] I think that some specific changes lie ahead of us. The new breezes and tendencies will reach the periphery only much later. For example, a few days ago I visited a certain rayon and talked with the first secretary of the party raykom. He was confused. At night there was still a light frost in the soil. Corn sown in that kind of soil would certainly die. He would then have to reseed. But he had received instructions from the oblast level: finish sowing by such-and-such a date. And it was not just a guideline, but rather a demand for accounting of the amount sown. For every individual day. What was he to do? I said to him: well, you have the right to appeal to certain resolutions on this matter which grant you freedom of action.

Rights are rights, but sowing still must be complete by a certain date. That means that the same thing continues to be done as was done 10, 20, 40 or 50 years ago. Powerful, arbitrary pressure, schedules set in concrete, and not a day later, with no regard for common sense or weather conditions.

[Medvedev] Do you often travel outside of Minsk?

[Bykov] Not so often, but I do sometimes. Because we still have acute problems in connection with the accident at the Chernobyl Nuclear Power Plant. Both psychological and physical... People live and hope for better times. And I need to talk with them.

[Medvedev] Recently the following opinions have been expressed: are we not going to extremes, are we not opening up our wounds too much, both old wounds and fresh ones? What can you say on that point?

[Bykov] I can picture the faces of the individuals expressing those opinions; I know them well from the years of "stagnant" time, a time when they worked very hard to make it irreversibly stagnant. Inflexibility and petrification in theory and practice: that is their element, which has today been so unexpectedly swept away by the wind of openness. If we were to analyze and soberly evaluate our difficulties in implementing restructuring, then it would probably become obvious that the most difficult of all is to overcome the duplicitous nature of bureaucracy, which stubbornly clings to tricks of the past which have been honed to perfection. The greatest of those tricks is the infamous "[ne pushchat i pogonyat]". Recently I have made many observations concerning the vicissitudes of fate in the life of Ales Adamovich, one of the most energetic champions of restructuring, a man of international authority as a writer and publicist, an active fighter for peace and mutual understanding between peoples, a man known to all. However, in all respects his activism has cost him dearly and taken from him a large part of his physical and spiritual strength, and it all ended with an act of revenge which was petty yet painful to him: refusal to allow him to attend a forum scheduled in the USA, to which he had been invited along with a group of Soviet scientists. Bureaucrats from the BSSR Academy of Sciences refused to allow him to fill out the exit visa applications under the pretext that he travels too often and often makes speeches. Obviously they are already regulating participation in

restructuring by compiling a schedule for non-participation in it. They themselves remain silent for years and get others to do the same, hungrily awaiting the moment when the trumpet will sound retreat and the "debauch of democracy," as they call it, will come to an end and return to the accustomed shores of death and sleepy self-satisfaction, so comfortable for them. And furthermore: if the noble ideas of restructuring have been most evidently manifested in any one thing, then truly in the lustily unfolding openness. Our journalism (domestic journalism, of course; our international journalism is lagging decades behind it), our journalism has unexpectedly and with outright self-sacrifice pushed its way to the vanguard of openness and uncovered social ills which have been so carefully concealed by bureaucrats, has unleashed such a struggle for truth and justice that even if it does nothing else it will leave a memory for decades. However, in following the overall course of openness one cannot fail to notice that recent there have appeared signs of a certain stalling in it; the accumulation of quantity does not always result in qualitative changes, there is a danger of devaluation of words which are basically correct and needed but which are not backed up by concrete action, and this threatens to end up becoming trivial chatter. That would be very regrettable if not catastrophic for the entire complex and incomparably difficult task of restructuring.

[Medvedev] I have heard an apocryphal story about Faulkner. When he died they discovered a room in the house where he had lived which was almost completely filled with letters and manuscripts from readers. He did not like to correspond. And you, Vasil Vladimirovich, do you answer letters or do they not concern you?

[Bykov] I try to reply, but I cannot always do that. This applies in particular not so much to letters as it does to the endless stream of packages containing manuscripts whose authors wrongly assume that a famous writer need only make a phone call or send their manuscript "to the right people" for it to be published. But there are letters which it would be impossible not to answer, although actually they should be answered by someone besides me, someone with more authority than a writer. But the problem is that in our country, according to an ancient and unofficial tradition, writers continue to be a sort of people's tribune, a kind of people's advocate to which people turn when they have no one else to turn to and all other avenues have been tried. They write not only with complaints, not only with personal problems -- state issues concern them just as much today. In this connection I would like to quote from a letter which I received recently from L. Golyas, deputy director of the AvtoVAS Production Association, who writes the following about the recently published Law on State Enterprises: "There was a time when administrative methods were truly necessary. That was the period when our country was in extreme external circumstances. And what was at stake then was the very survival of our new system, not merely the harmonious development of socialist society. But those times are gone for good. Socialism today is irreversible socialist reality. The world has long since changed, but methods of administration have not adequately kept pace with those changes. In its recently published version this law is not suitable for passage on account of the fact that it is not based on reality, as required by Marxism, but on the concepts of utopian socialism instead. One need only be familiar with the works of Saint-Simone to see the connection." And thereupon Comrade Golyas



goes on to illustrate through the convincing example of an enterprise extracting surplus profit the entire absurdity of this phenomenon on a basis of artificial cooperation. The author's conclusions seem convincing to me, they merely fail to convince those who seem to be concerned with nothing beyond their petty (bureaucratic) interests.

In this connection I feel that economic stagnation and bureaucratic coercion cannot be overcome through bureaucratic, i.e. purely regulatory, methods. Recently our old illness has come to light again: a powerful adherence to all sorts of laws and legislative acts, which in many cases are the offspring of bureaucracy and merely serve its bureaucratic interests. From Comrade Golyas' letter it is obvious that we are once again seeing the extraordinarily tenacious phenomenon that a law which has not even been adopted yet is in contradiction to reality on several points due to the fact that it reflects the yesterday of our development rather than its tomorrow.

[Medvedev] You are a man who has stared death in the face on more than one occasion. Tell me, what should an artist write about today in order to save the world from destruction, from perishing? Or is it more important how one writes rather than what one writes about?

[Bykov] This question was recently answered well by Comrade A. Adamovich, who has proposed the need for the appearance of a so-called "superliterature" as a hypothetical imperative of our times. True, they immediately objected to that, falsely, of course, because they had an incorrect understanding of the term itself, interpreting it as a challenge to produce something unreal, something which has never before existed in art. But what Adamovich had in mind was not a new style or genre, but rather a new quality. By this symbol he envisioned realistic literature, but literature of a very high humanistic tone -- the kind which would, in our age threatened with the destruction of the human race, through the stream of half-truths, lies and outright deception of millions, would penetrate mankind's conscience and force it to stop at the brink. I do not know what Adamovich would say, but I am inclined to the opinion that of works in recent years novels by Chingiz Aytmatov and Vladimir Dudintsev come close to literature of that type and in that sense they are undoubtedly a hopeful sign for the literature of the future.

[Medvedev] Reading one interview with you I discovered that you feel a spiritual kinship with the French existentialist writer Camus, who is also known in our country. That admission seemed interesting to me. Could you explain in greater detail upon what that kinship is based?

[Bykov] Camus is included among the existentialists, yet Camus himself categorically rejected that label. But in this case it is not so important what the author thought of himself. He did belong to that school of thought, that is generally agreed upon. The most important thing is the writer's works. Our time is a complex one in all respects. Camus, perhaps better than others, sensed this complexity of our age, its drama and tragedy. And he created what is probably one of the best, the very best, works of our century: the novel "The Plague." Upon careful reading this novel will finally provide answers to many questions which existed before us and which probably will continue to be asked after we are gone. Now I understand Tvardovskiy very



well, who once wrote and said that Camus' "The Plague" is the Gospel of the 20th century. That is absolutely correct. A human being can only either remain a human being or else cease to exist. That is the way I feel, quite categorically and very confidently. In "The Plague" Camus shows what it means to be a human being under those circumstances.

[Medvedev] Your creative principles or creed?

[Bykov] To portray the truth of life -- harsh, impartial, dirty or clean, splendid or monstrous -- the way it exists in real life in all its interconnections and manifestations. Art has only one means of achieving positive change in society, and that is by portraying society the way it actually is. Many years' experience in the development of our literature eloquently testifies that the so-called positive hero, constructed in the most ambitious fashion, is incapable of teaching anything as an equal, he merely gives the reader's consciousness a few comfortable minutes and then all the author's noble intentions disappear in thin air. Only by showing a person his real face can we hope for any more or less effective impulses on his part.

[Medvedev] I know that you have had a difficult road in life and as a writer. And yet you say that you sense the rightness of your cause, the rightness of your talent?

[Bykov] I, perhaps, am happy only about the fact that my first years as a writer, as well as my entry into serious literature, fortunately coincided with the appearance of a favorable atmosphere created by the decisions of the famous party congresses, decisions which to a considerable degree optimized the literary careers of many people.

About rightness? You are aware, naturally, that in my profession one would like to be right. If not in the eyes of history, then at least in the eyes of my generation, a generation pretty well thinned out by the war.

[Medvedev] Writers of the wartime generation like Astafyev, Baklanov and Bondarev have each had four-volume collections of their works published. Your four-volume set has also been published by the Molodaya Gvardiya Publishing House. At first I asked myself: why do writers of the wartime generation produce equal amounts? And then I realized that that was the result of limits set by the State Committee for Publishing Houses and the Book Trade [Goskomizdat]. Then I wondered: what do you think, for instance -- four volumes of works in 60 years, is that enough to present you fully to readers?

[Bykov] I do not work a lot. Not every day. Between novellas I always take breaks. Sometimes those breaks last one or two years. Sometimes less. I could work more intensively. But, on the other hand, why should I? At least "not a day without a line" is not my motto. I would say that one should write when a story or a novel has matured to a considerable extent in one's soul and is demanding to come out. If one does not have this feeling first, then there is no sense in hurrying. If one does go ahead, then usually in such cases the whole thing has to be redone anyway.

[Medvedov] Do you think that it is possible to consume oneself in art?

[Bykov] These days, hardly. Modern man is much too sober and realistic to allow his talent to consume itself without remnant, ignoring his own squeamishness, his own capriciousness.

[Medvedev] The most powerful shock in your life: an encounter, an event, someone's book, someone's action?

[Bykov] The greatest shock, I think, awaits me as, incidentally, it does all mankind, it still lies ahead: the success or failure of our restructuring. No matter what the outcome there will be no way to avoid a shock of either a positive or a negative nature, because too much is already at stake.

[Medvedev] Once I was journalistically envious of Tatyana Zemskova, who asked Valentin Rasputin this categorical question straight out: are you a great writer? Well, many people think that Bykov is a great writer of our times. Specifically, that is what Veniamin Aleksandrovich Kaverin said to me. Pardon me, Vasil Vladimirovich, but... are you a great writer?

[Bykov] If one measures on a provincial scale then I am probably a little bit greater than some, but if you are referring to Lev Nikolayevich or Fedor Mikhailovich, then alas...

[Medvedev] Do you have the sense that the years are hurrying by, that you are entering your seventh decade, that you have already lost many of your friends, that to live a life is truly not the same as walking across a field?

[Bykov] In a way I have been happy that I have met, made the acquaintance of and, perhaps, even become friends with very good people who also left behind good memories of themselves. Now I am repentant that I spent too little time with them. I could name many such. Tvardovskiy. Sergey Sergeyevich Smirnov, who was a wonderful person and who did a great deal for veterans after the war. I recall Kaysyn Kuliyev with great tenderness and sadness; he was a poet and a remarkable human being. It is a pity that we saw each other so seldom, I am a retiring person, Kaysyn Kuliyev was completely open toward those he met and all his kind feelings were manifested immediately. Now I have the feeling that I should have held people more dearly, good people and their kind feelings. For life is short and one should not regret later that one said too few kind words to people.

In the postwar years I began to feel more and more often that I was far beyond the age of 20 -- largely, of course, in a physical sense. In addition I began to perceive clearly the excessive naivete of my youthful years with regard to many things in life. This is probably one of the signs of growing wiser. And of growing older as well...

(Interviewer's note: Vasil Vladimirovich said these words to me as we were walking from the House of Writers to a little square next to an old building described in "War and Peace" as the Rostovs' house. We sat down on a bench next to the monument to Lev Tolstoy:

"This year spring is late at home, in Belorussia, and here in Moscow," said Bykov. "No green grass to be seen yet."

And for some reason I thought of two lines by Vyazemskiy: "She loves herself only in this world. And over her the grass will not grow." And the words which Bykov, my contemporary, had just said reminded me that life is indeed too short, and that one should think about good. Not love oneself, but rather one's fellow man, love people. So that later, after one is gone, the green grass of memory will spring up on the ground where one lies. The grass after us.)

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CSO: 1800/745

## AZERI PROSE COLLECTION PUBLISHED IN TURKEY

[Editorial Report] Baku KOMMUNIST in Azeri on 16 April 1987 carries on page 4 a 100-word Azerinform report announcing the publication of an anthology of Azeri prose in Turkey "for the first time." Thirty four writers are represented by 41 short stories. The work was arranged and translated by the Turkish writer Yusif Gedikli. Previously, Gedikli and his brother Fethi had published an anthology of Azeri poetry.

## AZERBAIJAN THEATER WORKERS UNION FOUNDED

[Editorial Report] Baku KOMMUNIST in Azeri on 19 April 1987 carries on page 2 a 300-word Azerinform report headlined "The Azerbaijan Theater Workers Union Is Founded" on the 17 April conference of the new union. "Conference participants discussed current problems in theater work along with demands of the present situation from a principled party position." The new organization was formally called the Azerbaijan Theater Society. L. Imanov, USSR peoples artist, was elected chairman. Present at the meeting were R.A. Mehdiyev, secretary of the Azerbaijan CP Central Committee, F.H. Ahmadov, deputy chairman of the AzSSR Council of Ministers, and V.M. Guluzade, director of the Culture Department of the Azerbaijan CP Central Committee.

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CSO: 1831/416



MOSCOW OFFICIALS ADMIT SHORTCOMINGS IN FIGHTING DRUG ABUSE

Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 10 Jul 87 p 6

[Article by A. Illesh and Ye. Shestinskiy: "Conference and Drug Addiction. Why the Moscow Soviet Ispolkom Did Not Adopt a Previously Prepared Draft Decree"]

[Text] The session began as usual. Members of the ispolkom, those presenting reports, and invited journalists took their seats...The number of speakers had been previously stipulated and a sufficient number of draft decrees had been printed. The very same decree which had been proposed for adoption...

Was it all as usual? However, a problem that was unexpected, to put it mildly, was placed under examination. This was the declaration of the USSR Procurator "On the Unsatisfactory Execution of the Law on Drug Addiction Control in the City of Moscow."

Quite a complex problem. The problem is so complex that the orderly scenario of the session was ultimately disrupted...

However, let's look at in the order of the session's events.

The following is from the statement made by the Chief of the Main Administration of Internal Affairs of the Moscow Gorispolkom, P. Bogdanov:

"The situation is now somewhat better than it was one year ago," he said. "The registration of drug addicts and toxic drug abusers has been set up on a large scale within the system of the Main Health Administration. In addition to the basic registry, a supplemental list has been compiled of persons who are inclined to the abuse of narcotics or persons who have been observed abusing narcotics.

Regular verification is made of the inventory, storage, and use of narcotics at therapeutic-preventive and pharmaceutical institutions. A rather large operation was undertaken throughout the city quite recently. We found 195,694 unrecorded hypodermic syringes with the narcotic promedol that should have been registered. We are also undertaking preventive measures...

And the militia's recent efforts to control this serious vice have altered the statistical picture. This is what that picture looks like today: During the

first six months of the current year the number of crimes connected with drug addiction has increased by 11.1 percent and 249 cases have been recorded. What is the breakdown of those cases?

The sale of narcotics has increased by 42.9 percent, and incidents of forged medical prescriptions have increased by 2.9 times. Whereas we only discovered one narcotic addict last year, we found 15 in the first half of this year. This year there were six more violations of rules governing the inventory and storage of narcotics by responsible officials. Criminal proceedings were instituted against 234 persons during the first half of the year... Sites of wild-growing hemp have been found and even destroyed in Moscow.

During the first half of the current year administrative proceedings were instituted against 152 persons and 20 persons were sentenced to compulsory treatment. The internal affairs authorities now have 2,402 drug addicts on its books...

"And still we must admit," noted Bogdanov, "that the actions undertaken by the internal affairs authorities to control drug addiction do not satisfy the necessary requirements. Almost one out of every three crime connected with narcotics is committed by a former felon, and one out of every four crimes is committed by outside city dwellers.

Without taking away any responsibility from the internal affairs authorities for the control of drug addiction, I am still convinced that the primary cause of the growing use of narcotics is the fact that those organizations that should be seriously concerned with this problem are not doing a sufficient job at the school, work, and residential areas. This serious and unequivocal problem will not be resolved by administrative measures alone.

The scientific-technical base is still very weak and we do not have trained personnel. We do not have modern methods of diagnosing and treating drug addicts...We are requesting help in providing us with research tools. At the present time we practically have only one method -- trained dogs...

I believe that we must prepare a broad program of drug addiction control."

The following is from the statement made by Chief of the Main Health Administration of the Moscow Gorispolkom V. Mudrak:

"The positions of psychiatrist-narcologists have been assigned from the total staff of the rayon health administrations in 27 rayons of Moscow. At the city hospital No. 17, 105 beds have been assigned for hospital treatment and examination...

As of May 1 of this year, we have had 574 persons registered for drug addiction treatment and 384 persons for toxic drug treatment. There are 1,570 persons registered for preventive treatment."

Let us interrupt the doctor for a minute. He has just mentioned different figures...What, do the two departments evaluate the situation differently? Or is one of them mistaken?...

"The internal affairs authorities find the largest number of drug addicts and toxic drug abusers," continued the chief of the city health administration. "They find 79 percent of the abusers whereas the health administration organs find 20 percent, and only one percent is found by the remaining authorities where city residents live, work, and study.

Drug addiction and toxic drug abuse are prevalent among various social strata of the population. They are particularly prevalent among young students, art students, drivers at motor transport enterprises, and certain categories of medical workers...It is alarming that one out of every four drug addict patients is unemployed. Their average age is 26. A particularly large percent of the unemployed addicts are women who comprise 80 percent of that category!

All of our requests directed to the Ministry of Health and scientific-research institutes to develop some kind of preparations that can be used to control drug addiction do not get fulfilled. The laboratory base is also weak. We have only one toxicology lab.

The decree that has been prepared today that naturally takes into consideration the proposed amendments will be a help in our struggle against drug addiction and toxic drug abuse..."

At that moment the smooth flow of the Moscow soviet ispolkom session was disrupted.

"And how accurate are your figures on drug addiction in the city?" asked the ispolkom chairman V. Saykin.

"I wouldn't want to exaggerate," responded V. Mudrak, "but I think that only one-half have been registered. We haven't been able to account for the other half. The problem of drug addiction is not only within the purview of the internal affairs and health authorities, but is everyone's concern. We medical personnel deal with persons who are already ill. We discover a certain segment of addicts in the course of our professional duties. But it is not we who are in contact with teenagers for the most part of the day, but rather the teachers and instructors. They must be the first to identify the youngsters who are afflicted. Those who never tried narcotics are those who will not become addicts. Therefore we must organize a serious preventive program. Yes, we need an intensive program in our struggle against drug addiction. And medicine is just one of the links in this program..."

"I have the impression that it does not pay to prolong our session any further," said V. Saykin. "It is obvious that we have to organize a group of specialists, sit down, and think about the issue, and work out a document which would provide for the creation of a material base supported by preventive measures. We must work out actions designed to identify drug addicts in the schools, vocational-technical schools, and the enterprises. Drug addiction is a most dangerous vice!

It would be best if today we adopt a decision to organize a group to prepare a

program for the control of drug addiction. In three days we should specify a group of specialist-planners from the various departments. They should be given two weeks to prepare a document. It will be examined at first by the chairman, and the community. Appropriate amendments will be made and at the beginning of August the document should be presented to the ispolkom which will define each specific program of action. I suggest that it be done in two stages -- a minimum program (immediate action), and a maximum program (for action to be taken up to the next Five-Year Plan."

How are we to judge the fact that the ispolkom did not adopt the earlier prepared decree (which was obviously thought up by somebody)? An extraordinary occurrence? Hardly. They are convinced that their action at the ispolkom was correct. The value of papers and decisions is not in how many of them there are but in the deeds that stand behind them. This is all the more so in the case of drug addiction which constitutes an exceptionally complex matter whose solution will not be found in a jiffy.

We do not think that one should fear a situation where the usual course of a "conference" procedure is interrupted or when real life intervenes in that procedure -- such are times now. It would be better if we ask ourselves what lies behind the figures cited at the session of the ispolkom? On the one hand they indicate a growth in drug addiction. On the other, they are clearly "self-serving." Look here, they say, how our departments have been working in their struggle against drug addiction! But is that the case in reality? Let us say that the medics didn't say a word about the number of cured patients, or anything about the fact that the existing system for treatment today is not only hardly effective in the medical sense, but is actually defective inasmuch as the work-treatment centers often become unique "classes for the advanced training" of drug addicts. There was no mention in the statement made by the city's militia chief about such an important index as the number of drug dealers arrested and turned over to the courts or anything about the big profiteers who gain from human misery and who draw new victims into the abyss of drug addiction in order to enrich themselves...

Incidentally, much of what was mentioned did not happen. Moreover, the chairman of the Moscow soviet ispolkom was quite dubious about the accuracy of what was reported. As it turned out, those doubts were reasonable...

And so the case "is closed." Of course, temporarily. It was decided not to hear the remaining reports -- what could they add to the already described unhappy picture? Moreover to a picture whose frame has clearly not been fully outlined. Decision? There would be no more talk of such things, and the previously prepared draft which was slipshod and incapable of producing a marked improvement in the city's situation -- was to be crossed out. That draft was to be crossed out after replacing it with a design for active measures to control drug addiction.

But here is what we should like to add to the end of this report.

It happens that papers that "had not been prepared for signing" are sent on for revisions. But it comes to the thoughtless location of stores, or let us say the construction of some kind of monument, that kind of task can wait.



Would that be bad? Yes. Distressing? Yes. But still stone, glass, and concrete are things that will last. But one must not linger when it comes to drug addiction. For here we are talking about people who are already sick. Moreover, about those, alas, who might lapse into an illness while we search for a correct decision.

What kind of figures will we hear at the next session of the ispolkom?

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JUSTICE OFFICIALS DEBATE LEGAL REFORM, JUDICIAL ERRORS

PM141417 Moscow NEDEL'YA in Russian No 27, 6-12 Jul 87 (Signed to Press 8 Jul 87) pp 14, 15

[V. Vodolazhskiy and V. Gatov report under the rubric "NEDEL'YA Legal Club": "The Judicial Service"]

[Text] Elections for people's judges have just been held. Of course, everyone realizes how much will depend on those whom we have entrusted with the administration of justice. This is very complex work. The court is an institution which decides people's fate. And those who are entrusted with making these decisions have no right to make mistakes.

The principles of justice, the enormous responsibility borne by people's judges, and the problems and concerns of the judges themselves--these were the topics of a NEDEL'YA Legal Club roundtable discussion.

Taking part in the conversation were: M. Vyshinskiy, USSR deputy minister of justice; V. Lebedev, chairman of the Moscow City Court; I. Kadnikov, chairman of Kiev's Dneprovskiy Rayon Court; V. Demin, first deputy director of the All-Union Scientific Research Institute for Problems of Strengthening Legality and Law and Order; Candidate of Juridical Sciences P. Barenboym, deputy director of the Public Scientific Research Institute for Legal Defense under the Moscow City Collegium of Attorneys; Doctor of Juridical Sciences Professor A. Bezuglov; Doctor of Juridical Sciences A. Ratinov; Doctor of Juridical Sciences I. Petrukhin, association of the USSR Academy of Sciences State and Law Institute; and M. Khazin, senior assistant to the Moscow Oblast Prosecutor.

How Is Authority To Be Earned?

NEDEL'YA Correspondent: Restructuring and the process of democratization have, of course, affected all aspects of our society's life. Naturally, the changes are not bypassing the courts' work. Mikhail Pavlovich, what specific form has this taken, in your view as USSR deputy minister of justice?

M. Vyshinskiy: The main quality that our judicial procedure must (and does) gain from restructuring is the ability to function under conditions of ever-deepening democracy. The task set us today is to observe its principles (which are equally inherent in the democratic system of justice)--independence

of the court, subordination of judges only to the law, openness and adversarial procedure, quality for all in the eyes of the law, and presumption of innocence. In my view, this is a universal remedy against the stagnation phenomena which have been extensively mentioned by the general and professional press.

Restructuring will not occur automatically. An entire "package" of measures designed not just to update but also to radically change many aspects of the administration of justice has been outlined and is being implemented. First, the legal legislative basis of justice needs restructuring. Work has already begun on drafting new Fundamentals of criminal Legislation for the USSR and the union republics. The main thing here is further democratization and consistent implementation of the principles of humaneness and social justice in legislation. Second, the court is inseparable from the judge. The most complex restructuring is that of the human factor, the cadre factor. Many legal ideas will have to be changed and obsolete patterns of judicial practice will have to be abandoned. It is necessary to ensure continuous improvement of the membership of the bench by sharply stepping up judges' accountability to the electorate and offering voters broad opportunities to express their attitude toward several candidates during elections. The third strategic goal concerns questions of improving the actual structure of the courts and their material base, setting norms and incentives for judges' labor, and organizing their work. You have to agree that restructuring would be impossible without all this....

NEDELYA Correspondent: Is it possible to be specific about the average wage of judges today?

M. Vyshinskiy: The minimum wage is R200 for a chairman of a People's Court, and R160 for a people's judge.

NEDELYA Correspondent: We watch detective movies made abroad which expose the "criminal nature of capitalism," but this exposure often "works" against us. Why? Simply because these movies show courtrooms, police stations, and investigation equipment which make you feel ashamed of the way our courts and militia are equipped....

M. Vyshinskiy: Let us face up to the truth: Our courts (I mean the buildings) are in a particularly disadvantaged position.

The "leftover principle" in financing the social sphere which prevailed during the years of stagnation had a particularly painful effect on justice. Not only do we have no Palaces of Justice, but actually more than one-half of our courts are located in dilapidated buildings unsuited to their purpose. And what about courtrooms? Many courts simply do not have them! I won't mention the rickety furniture, and so on....

Of course, considerable funds will be required for a fundamental renewal of the material and technical base of justice. But the saying is apt: Cheap justice works out expensive. The Ministry of Justice has an extensive program

for the reconstruction of the material sphere of justice. Work has started, but it will require not only much money and time, but also great physical effort. We perceive our primary and most important goal as being to provide all courts with buildings consonant with Soviet Courts' procedural norms and educational role.

A. Ratinov: Here we are talking, in one way or another, about enhancing the authority of our courts. It seems to me that, in this context, we must firmly speak out against the promotion of inexperienced jurists to serve as judges. I cannot imagine an authoritative and efficient judge who has graduated from a juridical VUZ and directly become a judge, without practical experience in other law enforcement agencies. Attorney, investigator, prosecutor, jurist in the national economy--he must certainly pass through these stages, and experience of life by itself (we have even been assigned graduates who have served in the army and have worked somewhere) is clearly insufficient.

M. Vyshinskiy: Quite right, the office of judge is not a starting point but is, in a way, a summation of synthesis of experience of life and practical experience in professional work. The results of the recent elections make it possible to say: Most of the judges elected for the first time have experience of legal work. Furthermore, henceforth only jurists with at least 2 years' practical experience will be nominated for election as judges.

Many people ask about the changes that will take place in the courts' work in the immediate future. The main point is that there must be more objectivity in examining the evidence in court sessions, and consequently greater legality and fairness in the decisions made by the courts. The bias toward the prosecution still dominant in some judges' professional minds ought to be eliminated, and thoughtless acceptance of the prosecution's story must be eradicated. Only two sets of facts ought to be placed in the scales of justice: the proof of the accused's guilt, in other words the evidence produced by the investigation; and the arguments in his favor--the fruit of the defending attorney's work--the accused's personality, and the humaneness of our courts. And incidentally, the courts' objectivity is now growing: All regions report a fall in the number of sentences involving imprisonment, while serious crimes and crimes committed by recidivists incur harsher and more uncompromising punishment.

I. Petrukhin: I would like to say something about the situation in which a judge is placed. After all, it too can be linked to the causes of judicial mistakes. And generally of all the other negative phenomena which, alas, by no means enhance the courts' authority. Let us start with the question: How many judges are there in our country? Mikhail Pavlovich Vyshinskiy gives the figure of 12,125. We elaborated a long time ago the basis for determining the official workload for judges. But the Ministry of Justice does not apply these normatives and methods. And yet judges must work without being overloaded, calmly and carefully hearing all criminal and civil cases.

M. Vyshinskiy: Alas! This is not up to us but up to the USSR Ministry of Finance. Not only do we apply the elaborated methods, but we have also used



them as a basis for establishing judicial workload norms and , consequently, new tables of organization. But the distance between the desirable and the actual is "maintained" by financial organs.

I. Kadnikov: I would like to add the following to the discussion about how to enhance the courts' authority and prevent judicial and investigative mistakes.

"Supply successful statistics!"--This is the slogan still unfurled over our law enforcement ranks. Here is what happens: The investigator has not quite completed the case, but he "shoves" it onto the prosecutor in order to keep to the timetable; the prosecutor fails to notice this, but he just scribbled a signature on the indictment in order not to produce worse "figures," and as a result of this the court refers the case for further investigation.

If you "close" one case after another, you are doing fine! If you conduct a thorough investigation of everything and put the truth together grain by grain, all the big shots jump on you for having again "ruined" the statistics....

I think that we judges should not wait for someone else's restructuring. We must restructure ourselves. A struggle is now being waged! As a judge you either are on the side of "indicators" or you fight only for the truth, for a real and complete observance of legality, as demanded by the time. As for the "indicator," it is of secondary importance.

#### The Human Factor

NEDEL'YA Correspondent: Recently both the press and readers' letters have made quite a few statements sharply critical of workers in law enforcement agencies, including the courts. In one way or another, this criticism related to judicial and investigative mistakes.

What is a judicial mistake? It means a broken life, trampled human dignity, moral and physical damage. Do you not think that the cause of these mistakes lies in the poor training of judges and other workers in law enforcement agencies? And that poor training, in its turn, stems from the inadequate legal education system. How is it to be improved, what is to be done to ensure that unworthy people do not end up in juridical VS's?

V. Demini: The period of stagnation had a grave effect also on law enforcement agency cadres. We are now in the process of cleansing our ranks of those whose moral qualities and professional knowledge make them unfit to be representatives of justice. It is therefore necessary to make strict demands as regards the selection of future jurists! After all, this profession is organically alien to mercenary, wicked, weak-willed, and passive people, to people who are incapable of waging a selfless struggle for the truth. What we need are judges with high professional standards, capable of passing a fair and well-argued sentence. What we need are investigators trained primarily to wage a legal struggle against crime. And yet at times we have to take people and judge their professional qualities only by their VZ diploma.

Our institute has made proposals which I think could help to solve the question of selecting law students. What we mainly need is vocational guidance right from the VUZ auditorium. What I mean is not just learning codes and text books by heart, but participation in practical work in the specialized legal field to which the student intends to devote his life.

M. Vyshinskiy: Unworthy people in juridical institutes... Where do they come from? This is how I would answer this question: Over the last 15-20 years, the VUZ training of juridical cadres has not accorded with the tasks of genuine justice and the role of the legal system in society's life. I am not making excuses--the USSR Ministry of Justice is, of course, directly responsible for the training of juridical cadres--but we have repeatedly raised these questions with the USSR Ministry of Higher and Secondary Specialized Education. The press has also raised them.

What are the shortcomings of the training system? Until recently, the regulations for admission to juridical faculties were exactly the same as for any other faculty: People were interviewed by the Admissions Commission, submitted their documents, and then took examinations. They collected credits--and we all know how credits are collected at times--and no one showed any interest in their moral character or views. And yet these were the future jurists, servants of the law....

Certain things have already been done to remedy the situation. Specifically, henceforth anyone entering a juridical faculty will have to have, as a rule, at least 2 years' work experience and will have to be recommended by prosecution or justice organs, the courts, or soviet and party organizations. Some 20 percent of those admitted need not have the 2 years' practice provided they are "legally" recommended.

NEDELYA Correspondent: School pupils in our country study "Fundamentals of the State and Law," and yet juridical VUZ's have no examinations on this subject. A slight discrepancy.... What does the deputy minister think of that?

M. Vyshinskiy: I think that this calls for reflection. The study of law is a great achievement of our schools. After all, legal knowledge are not just a humanities knowledge, the need for which is now felt sharply, but also a social knowledge. It helps people find their way in human relations and prepares them for social activity and independent participation in state and social life. But in order to classify this as an "examination subject," it ought to be weighted more in terms of content and study time, and its study ought to be transferred from the 8th grade to senior and, essentially, vocational guidance grades. This is a task of the USSR Ministry of Education.

I would like to mention another aspect. In the USSR as a whole, 60 percent of students in the most diverse specialized fields are in full-time education, while jurists in full-time education account for only 33 percent of the total number of students. Now it has been decided to extend daytime education. Jurists need meaningful full-time education.

### And If the Judge Is To Blame?

M. Khazin: I am a practicing jurist, I still appear in court and deal with trials on a daily basis. In my view, one of the main causes of negative phenomena in the administration of justice is the virtual impunity of judges. The judge is not answerable for a sentence that has been illegally passed, regardless of whether it is a sentence of punishment or an acquittal. The disciplinary collegiums, which hover somewhere in the vacuum between people's courts and oblast courts, are virtually helpless. And apart from that, they are totally unwilling to impose order.

Therefore, a judge, when hearing a case of any kinds, can display negligence, carelessness, or even simply ignorance because he knows that he has nothing to fear. But let me substantiate this statement.

The following instance occurred recently in Moscow Oblast: A people's court sentenced someone to 10 years' imprisonment for attempted murder (Dolgoprudnenskiy People's Court). The case was referred on appeal to us at the Prosecutor's Office. We reviewed it and deemed it necessary to file a protest. The Oblast Court heard the protest, reclassified the case, and found the "murderer"... guilty under Article 112 (causing slight bodily harm), passing a sentence of 6 months' imprisonment.

Of course, the rayon prosecutor and the investigator were punished for having sent this case to trial, but the judge who passed the unlawful sentence was the only one to go unpunished.

And here is an example of a completely different nature. The oblast court was trying the case of the chief of a rayon Struggle Against Embezzlement of Socialist Property and Speculation Department, who was accused of bribe-taking. Can you imagine what it means for the chief of a Struggle Against Embezzlement of Socialist Property and Speculation Department to take bribes? Without any hesitation, he could be described as a gangster. He extorted as much as he liked from all trade network and consumer services workers.

And what do you think? He was acquitted. He was allowed to go "scot-free," without the case even being referred to additional investigation! We protested the verdict to the RSFSR Supreme Court, which annulled it and, according to regulations, referred the case for additional investigation. The additional investigation produced nothing new, just the same evidence and the same charges, and the case was sent to the oblast court, but to a different judge in a different office. And the "gangster" received the 10 years due to him. Do you think that the judge who acquitted the criminal was punished?! No, of course not. Why punish him? And how was he to be punished?

But suppose the higher-ups are displeased with a judge. His sentences are systematically annulled or changed--only then is it possible, so to speak, to "get him," but even that can be done only at the next elections, in 5 years' time.

By that time the numerous cases wrecked by him during his first year in office will have been forgotten. By that time there may be no other "suitable" candidate, they may brush aside all his past sins, and ... reelect him.

And so, I am convinced. Until we have a properly functioning system for disciplinary punishment of judges--for unlawful sentences or for actions prejudicial to the title of Soviet judge--until such time we will not have fair judicial practice.

A. Ratnov: When talking about the causes of judicial and investigative mistakes, it is primarily necessary to mention that there are general causes of negative phenomena in our judicial system. The last 10-15 years have seen in our legal environment the emergence of entire "populations" of conformists, timeservers, unprincipled and unscrupulous careerists, and people who suffered from apathy and pessimism and considered themselves unable to withstand various corrupt pressures and influences from outside, from above. Professional conscience was corroded. This situation cannot be changed quickly.

V. Demin: I think that the main cause of investigative and judicial mistakes is the poor standard of professional knowledge and of legal and general culture, and the callousness and indifference toward people which thrive among some workers in law enforcement organs. The considerable excessive workload also has an effect on the quality of judicial work. By no means everyone can work honestly under all sorts of pressure, and such instances are, alas, not infrequent.

It is, after all, no secret that those who believed themselves to personify local power would frequently like to have in their "pocket" judges, investigators, and prosecutors. A struggle is going on, and a very serious struggle at that, for restructuring within law enforcement organs. Previously, under local pressure, judges passed harsh sentences on innocent people and acquitted hardened criminals (in the event that "pocket" investigators and prosecutors actually did take the case to court). Now they have developed a new quality: The ability and desire to evade a final solution to the question. Use any pretext to shove the case back to investigative organs, refer it from one court to another--these are by no means isolated bureaucratic exercises.

It was, I believe, no accident that last year alone more than 1,500 cases involving embezzlement of socialist property and bribery were canceled on appeal by prosecutors and referred for additional investigation! There are hundreds of cases still going on all over the country because judges are now afraid to make a decision!

I. Petrukhin: Today, during the revolutionary time of restructuring, the question of judicial mistakes is more topical than ever before. In my view, however, this is not a matter of judges' irresponsibility. I accept that the judge is under pressure. Some 10 years ago, 10 percent of people's judges (among the group we polled) declared that they had been subjected to illegal



influence and pressure. At present, according to data from a recent study, the number of such judges has risen to 25 percent.

This is a consequence of the fact that we have virtually no idea of the mechanism of relations between law enforcement organs at rayon, oblast, or republican level. Prosecutors, internal affairs administration chiefs, court chairmen, and even attorneys at times believe that they are jointly struggling against crime and doing noble work. But let us get this understood: The court's task is not to combat crime! Let prosecution and militia organs deal with this. The task of the court is to monitor the success of their struggle and whether citizens' rights are violated in the process.

M. Vyshinskiy: I would like to dispute the "virtual impunity" of judges of which M. Khazin spoke. This thesis is not based on reality. The reality is this: Last year criminal proceedings were taken against 8 judges, 90 judges were recalled by voters for professional mistakes and behavior not befitting a judge, and 837 judges had disciplinary proceedings instituted against them. The question is, of course: Is this too much or not enough? In my view, it is too much. Especially if we proceed from the premise that a judge, by virtue of his status and his position, ought not to be punishable at all.

I cannot accept the demands for creating a new system of administrative punishments and eliminating the disciplinary collegiums. M. Khazin is either getting carried away or misunderstands the specific position of the judge and the specific features of his work.

In the sphere of justice a disciplinary case may be instituted only when a judge displays personal negligence and in discipline when applying the law.

A judge is no ordinary functionary in the state apparatus, but an elected representative whom citizens have trusted to judge them. As Marx put it: A judge belongs neither to me nor to the government. He has just one chief--the law--and no other chiefs. Therefore, the legislator, in order to consolidate the judge's independence and protect him from our administrative rage, instructed that the question of judges' accountability be decided by a special collegium consisting of judges, and the question of recalling judges from office be decided by the voters themselves. Hence any institution of proceedings against judges simply in respect of a mistake, without any explanation of how it occurred, cannot be deemed correct. This is nothing but an attempt to curtail the principle of judges' independence or to completely nullify it, and this is impermissible.

Justice is possible only when judges are independent and obey the law. Dependent justice, in which anyone can intervene, if only on the pretext of enhancing judges' disciplinary accountability, is not justice. It would be better to altogether do away with it.

V. Lebedev: I cannot accept the claim that judges bear virtually no responsibility. What was proposed was taking the following path: Punish all judges who have made mistakes, and go almost as far as institution criminal

proceedings against them. But what happens then? M. Vyshinskiy has spoken quite exhaustively on the need for a sensible and, most importantly, legal approach toward the solution of this question. Let me recall that current legislation makes provision for criminal proceedings against judges if they wittingly pass an unlawful sentence, decision, ruling, or resolution. But it must not be forgotten that a judge acting conscientiously cannot be held responsible under these provisions even if a decision made under his chairmanship is overturned.

This is quite fully said in a decision of the USSR Supreme Court, which, hearing a specific case, pointed out that when the viewpoint of a judge acting conscientiously on the basis of inner conviction does not coincide with the viewpoint of a superior court empowered to overrule the judge's decision, the overruling of the decision not only does not provide any grounds for instituting proceedings against the judge, but any institution of proceedings is actually illegal and a gross violation of the principle of judges' independence.

Appeal courts and courts with supervisory authority issue interlocutory orders and resolutions in respect of judges who have committed mistakes, and these are subject to mandatory discussion by the court collectives.

Incidentally, we in Moscow make extensive use of disciplinary measures. The Disciplinary Cases Collegium works very hard. It is no accident that one-third of the bench was renewed following the recent elections. Many judges were not reelected because of breaches of moral and professional duty.

M. Vyshinskiy: The inadequate and poor level of judges' independence is today one of the causes of imperfections in justice. And it is incumbent upon us all to consolidate independence in every possible way and protect judges from interference and pressure using every available means.

Judges' absolute independence of thinking and action and their subordination to the law alone are an essential condition and eternal law of justice. No matter how powerful our country may be in terms of its material strength, no matter how vast it may be in terms of its size, it will be powerless without independent, genuine, and truthful justice. The most acute and most demanding criticism must bear this in mind and it must never overstep the mark beyond which interference with justice and curtailment of its independence begin.

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CSO: 1800/0779

BAKU INSTITUTE ABUSES REVEALED; INSTITUTE TO CLOSE

PM161721 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 15 Jul 87 First Edition p 6

[V. Ryashin article: "Bankruptcy of the Instructors;" first paragraph is introduction]

[Text] Following certification procedures it has been proposed to close one of the Baku VUZ's. What has happened? Documents from the USSR Ministry of Higher and Secondary Specialized Education and the USSR People's Control Committee provide the evidence.

Indeed, what has happened? For they are not proposing to lock up a wine store, or a bankrupt tailor's workshop. Sentence is being passed on a VUZ whose graduates must, one would think, be in great demand today. How depressing must it be to see them hand down the severest of verdicts: To close the Azerbaijan Institute of the National Economy [AINE] where there are 8,000 students? The materials analyzing its work filled more than one volume. When you familiarize yourself with the mass of documents prepared by the representatives of the USSR People's Control Committee, the USSR Ministry of Higher and Secondary Specialized Education, and specialist-experts who worked in Baku for a few weeks then you can clearly see that this did not simply require mere dry research. There was a great deal to appreciate and to experience. There were enough causes for amazement--"It can't be!"--and anger--"Can this really be allowed?"

The mind in fact refuses to believe the reality of some of the facts. An economics student cannot cope with adding simple fractions. What a ridiculous idea! What a silly joke! But the document authenticated with a seal certifies that this is no hoax, that a future specialist was really unable to correctly calculate the sum  $1/2 + 1/3$ .

This case is not unique. I will cite data from the official report: "Out of 60 students who performed standard mathematics work to satisfy the minimum requirements for entry into the VUZ, only 4 solved all the problems correctly. More than 80 percent could not cope with 9th-10th grade examples and 24 even with 4th-5th grade level addition and division." Yet in tests they have marks for higher mathematics no lower than "satisfactory." And if we delve deeper into history then the young people appeared to pass the entrance examination irreproachably: Their knowledge was assessed by a computer. But a scrupulous analysis conducted by A. Bezrukov, USSR People's Control Committee inspector

and high school specialist, put everything in its place. It turned out that the computer had served in effect as a screen under cover of which a close little group had rigged their selection for the VUZ. The marks of hundreds of matriculants had been intentionally overstated. But there were also the victims--those who were denied favoritism. A curious detail: Out of 35 medal winners who entered the VUZ last year, only 9 overcame the barrier of the entrance examination. While ignoramuses calmly sprawled out on the benches.

How long could the AINE have remained the breeding ground for dunderheads if it had not been for the intervention of the USSR People's Control Committee and the union Ministry of Higher and Secondary Specialized Education? The fact that this has been going on is not open to doubt. Today we have in many cases the defense of diploma work; examinations have been held with the participation of specialist-experts. But in the past there were no outside eyes, and one can only surmise how many marks have been given which have not been backed up by knowledge and how many degrees have been conferred where the qualification indicated is a myth. As has been revealed, many future economists cannot master the methods of calculating the cost of output, labor productivity, profit, and profitability. The USSR Ministry of Higher and Secondary Specialized Education's certification commission had to take extreme measures: Because of the flagrant violations of study plans final-year students' state examinations were canceled or suspended in a number of subjects.

Of course, it would be unjust to suspect each graduate from this VUZ of being a professionally qualified ignoramus and to accuse all teachers en masse of being extortioners. But the fact remains: The commissions which arrived in Baku received statements about extortion in the AINE.

It sometimes seems that people were maliciously and mockingly toying with the fate of the institute. A historian who previously led the social sciences department at the conservatory becomes rector of an economics VUZ for 10 years or so. A philologist is appointed chief of the AINE studies department. Crazy logic. Or, as one of the experts said, sheer surrealism. A laboratory assistant is sent to give a lecture instead of a professor. The timetable schedule has more real power than the dean. The plagiarist calmly prospers; you see, he is already party committee secretary. What need is there for science and teaching? Instruction in the VUZ was frequently conducted according to obsolete programs, and certain sections of important disciplines were not taught at all.

Yes, something in the nature of a bad dream or a scene from a third-rate comedy. They ask a teacher with a science degree: What programming languages were employed when teachers were mastering work methods on a computer? The answer throws the specialist into confusion: "Computer language? Russian and Azerbaijan."

How did the VUZ begin the slide toward bankruptcy?

"Pay attention," A. Bezrukov, People's Control Committee inspector, says. "Professor B. Musayev, winner of an Azerbaijan SSR State Prize, wrote 40 statements to various republic and central offices. But in Baku they were not



investigated at all or were investigated only formally. Details were examined, but not the crux of the negative phenomena. The AINE leadership, fearing a leak of information, did not grant the professor a vacation for 4 years: God forbid that he goes to Moscow to complain; there are sufficient forces to neutralize him right here. Other scientists also opposed the procedures inculcated in the institute by the close-knit company headed by the rector, Z. Alikberov, and party committee secretary Ch. Aliyev. But everything disappeared into the sand, as it were. As a result even the healthy section of the VUZ collective displayed feelings of impotence and lack of faith in the possibility of changes for the better. B. Musayev's letter arrived at the People's Control Committee with an instruction to investigate from the USSR Supreme Soviet. Our commission left for Baku and the examination conducted confirmed what B. Musayev had written. Social justice has been violated in the VUZ at its very source--during the selection of students. Very often the most sacred principles have been flouted. For they have not just accepted a few semieducated people--and they have not been turning out just a few semispecialists. Higher education has essentially been discredited. The squandering of the VUZ's potential and the decline in its collective's moral tone did not begin today or yesterday. The unscrupulous goings-on in the AINE have been no secret for a long time. But the republic's Ministry of Higher and Secondary Specialized Education has apparently seen nothing or heard nothing, although you cannot say that the former minister, K. Aliyev, and his deputies had not been there."

The Azerbaijan Communist Party Central Committee was obliged to deal with the institute. The resolutions adopted by it in November 1985 pointed out serious shortcomings in instruction and educational, teaching, and research work, and omissions relating to entry to the VUZ. It was said in particular that "facts of bribe taking have not received a principled evaluation from the rector's office and the party committee, and no broad public opinion was established around them."

Z. Alikberov, who had been head of the VUZ since 1973, was given a severe reprimand and had his report card endorsed. But he remained at the helm of the institute for a few more months. After his dismissal the rector's chair remained empty until September 1986. This, understandably, did not facilitate an improvement in the situation. During last year's entrance examinations the machine drawing ignoramus into the VUZ was once again working smoothly and was even picking up revolutions. The close-knit company huddled together under the AINE's roof had not fallen apart. You bet! The roots go deep. Dozens of the institute's associates are related. People linked by favoritism and a collective dependency controlled business in the VUZ according to a family "code."

Unpunished evil loses its fear. It emerges shamelessly into the light from hidden corners. The emboldened smooth operator demands respect, almost love, from those around him. He tries to show by his entire way of life: Do not despise me, understand that honesty can be bought or sold. Those who were assessing the AINE involuntarily sensed this atmosphere. Shady individuals blackmailed and hinted: Take a step to meet us, leave the institute in peace--and we will come to an agreement to our mutual advantage. But other

proposals from Bakuites were more often heard: Lead the self-seekers to fresh water, but do not let them disgrace the city.

"Analysis of the work of the AINE," N. Pakhomov, deputy chief of the USSR Ministry of Higher and Secondary Specialized Education's State Inspection Committee, who has recently returned from Baku, comments, "made me more keenly aware than ever before that education and science are based on certain primary world-outlook values and moral and psychological tenets which must, without fail, characterize those who teach and those who study. In my opinion, it is precisely the moral decline and degeneration of party of the AINE's collective and the flouting by certain of its employees of the elementary norms of probity which have effectively severed the link between this VUZ and the higher school and have placed the AINE outside the sphere of education and science."

What has taken place in the AINE indisputably requires Azerbaijan's Ministry of Higher and Secondary Specialized Education and the Science and Education Institutions and Economic Departments of the republic communist Party Central Committee to fundamentally review the positions and define precisely the level of demands on specialists turned out for the national economy in conditions of the latter's restructuring.

In any tale about the AINE there is also an element of pain and even, maybe, a sense of guilt: The diagnosis on the VUZ was pronounced too late. I remember a conversation with R. Kuliyeu, who was in the position of a man appointed captain of a sinking ship. He became rector of the Azerbaijan Institute in September 1986, when you did not have to look far for signs of the VUZ's inner erosion--they were apparent.

"For me the VUZ's trouble is a personal tragedy. You understand, I was one of the first graduates from the AINE. In my opinion, the VUZ's beginning was promising. The cadres trained here then have earned a good reputation by deed and practice. And here is the depressing finale: It is recommended that the institute be closed down, setting up in its place a branch of a strong economics VUZ.

The USSR People's Control Committee and the USSR Ministry of Higher and Secondary Specialized Education proposed this. And the idea is shared by the Azerbaijan Communist Party Central Committee, which in May once again examined the question of the unfavorable situation in the VUZ, and the republic's Council of Ministers.

During conversations about the AINE I happened to hear: Won't closing the VUZ be like shutting the stable door after the horse has bolted? The tracks have been covered up, those who should have been seized are busy elsewhere. But honest people and society on the whole are the losers. True, the criminal part of the Baku story is actually awaiting the crime detection specialists. The Union Ministry of Higher and Secondary Specialized Education clearly expressed its opinion on this score in a letter to the USSR Prosecutor's Office. But meanwhile another court will take over, the court of honor. We must not make conjectures as to whether the bankrupts will find their advocates or not. It is more important to grasp something else. The strict

assessment of the Baku story given today is one more lesson in the truth, one more path to purification.

For a long time, for a very long time, this was the image of the higher school presented to us: a beautiful city spread far and wide, made up of a multitude of VUZ's. You did not wish to notice the twisted streets, the rickety, mold-covered buildings. Yes, they were often surrounded by fences--no point in spoiling the scenery, they said. Now, it seems, they have overcome their fear of the dark alleyways' unsightly aspects suddenly catching the eye. The uncompromising analysis conducted in the AINE by officials of the USSR People's Control Committee and the union Ministry of Higher and Secondary Specialized Education gives us hope: In that city named the higher school it is time not for cosmetic but for capital repair. They are beginning to change the rotten floor boards in the ramshackle houses. A good sign of renewal.

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CSO: 1830/620

## 'INDEPENDENT' SECONDARY SCHOOLS HIGHLIGHTED

[Editorial Report] Baku KOMMUNIST in Azeri on 21 April 1987 carries on page 2 a 1200-word article by I. Mayylov, cand.ped.sci., headlined "For Quality in Every Sector, or Successes and Problems of Vocational Guidance" which appears under the rubric of "Steps in School Reform." While most of the article concentrates on the communication gap between secondary schools and the production centers in which students work in order to gain experience in possible future vocations, he also touches on the republic's most effective schools in this regard. "Rich experience has been gathered in the sector of the students' work education, vocational direction, and work training at the village secondary schools at Khaldan in Yevlakh Rayon, Leninabad in Shamakhy Rayon,, and Bozalganly in Tovuz Rayon. One can say that these schools function as independent teaching and production centers. At the Khaldan, Leninabad, and Bozalganly schools students' work is not merely mechanical, but basic productive work that forms their creative capabilities and creates the conditions for applying knowledge gained in the sciences." There are also two schools in Baku considered by the author to be "exemplary" due to the good relations they have established with industry: the No 54 school that works in conjunction with the 26 Baku Commissars Mechanical Repair Factory, and the No 98 school that works with a telecommunications factory.

## SCHOOL DIRECTOR DESCRIBES BUREAUCRATIC CONFLICTS

[Editorial Report] Baku KOMMUNIST in Azeri on 4 April 1987 carries on page 2 a 1200-word article by Zahid Shoyubov, director of the Khaldan village secondary school in Yevlakh Rayon and peoples teacher of the USSR, headlined "We Must Join Forces." He describes his school's operations and facilities, noting in passing that it and its students have won various awards on the All-Union level. He adds that "at this point I would like to touch on some problems impeding systematic educational work. I know from many years of experience that schools in our republic and the rest of the country are subject to many standards. Those attempting to introduce innovations into school work and those undertaking creative research are compelled to come into conflict with serious obstacles and formalism. Instead of receiving help, the innovatory pedagogue confronts formalistic relations and bureaucrats; he fights against this, but often questions are resolved in favor of the bureaucrat. This damages our work."



## NEW COOPERATIVE LAW TO REDUCE UNEARNED INCOME

[Editorial Report] Baku KOMMUNIST in Azeri on 9 April 1987 carries on page 3 a 1300-word interview with A. Afandiyev, deputy chairman of AzSSR Gosplan, on some consequences of the new law on cooperatives; the interview is headlined "The General Utility of Private Labor." He points out that to implement the law "there are enough unutilized additional labor resources in our republic. Eleven percent of our labor resources are seasonal workers, 18 percent work on private plots and 10 percent in the home. Attracting them into private work activity would be of great utility." He adds that "when difficulties emerge in providing certain products and services, those who are on the wrong side of the law swing into action: products and services without official permits are arranged and the situation for unearned income is established. The law on individual work activity will help to prevent such negative events."

## SHORTCOMINGS NOTED IN PLANNING, USE OF RECREATIONAL FACILITIES

[Editorial Report] Baku KOMMUNIST in Azeri on 9 April 1987 carries on page 4 a 1000-word article by R. Rafizade and B. Asadov under the rubric "Free Time" on the availability and use of recreational facilities in Salyan and Neftchala Rayons. In Salyan Rayon, for example, there are 47 houses of culture and clubs, 6 autoclubs, 4 traveling culture tents, 60 libraries holding 506,000 volumes, and other cultural amenities. Examined more closely, however, the recreational picture is more uneven: in one village, from which the Jangi Folklore Ensemble (which has performed in Yugoslavia and Spain) originates, cultural facilities are in such poor shape that "it is impossible to implement any mass cultural measures." In the rayon center a cultural and recreational park has been under construction for several years without coming any closer to completion and has "turned into a difficult question" which the "republic Ministries of Culture and Communal Housing have been unable to resolve." Similar problems are found in Naftchala Rayon, where numerous recreational facilities have been planned but never built. At the same time that all these projects are being planned, the reporters determined that "existing buildings in some villages are being underused."

## TASKS OF RECTORS' COUNCIL OUTLINED

[Editorial Report] Baku KOMMUNIST in Azeri on 10 April 1987 carries on page 3 a 1500-word article by F. Baghyrzade, chairman of the AzSSR Council of Higher School Rectors and rector of the S.M. Kirov Azerbaijan State University, headlined "Higher School Life: The Rectors' Council at a New Stage." He notes that "the most important of the duties of the higher school is the integration of instruction and production. In connection with this, the rectors' council has given priority to the establishment of branches of higher school departments in industry. The experience gathered in this sector was given high marks in discussions at the inter-higher school conference devoted to 'Current Problems in Strengthening the Relationship Between Teaching and Production.'" Adding that the rectors' council has been paying much attention to reconstruction, he points out that "it is no secret that despite many positive examples, a number of higher schools are demonstrating a lack of courage in restructuring their work."

#### MORE SPACE STUDIES CLUBS URGED FOR YOUTH

[Editorial Report] Baku KOMMUNIST in Azeri on 12 April 1987 carries on page 3 a 1200-word article by Professor T. Ismayylov, chairman of the AzSSR Cosmonautics Federation and general director of the USSR Cosmic Research Scientific and Production Organization of the Glavkosmos Administration, urging that the Glavkosmos Federation expand its areas of activity, especially among youth; the article's title is "Cosmonautics Day: In the Name of Peaceful Goals." Emphasizing the importance of space studies clubs for youth, he notes that "at such clubs it would be possible to create all the conditions to acquaint students with the fundamentals of space, to hold interesting laboratory meetings and conduct experiments connected with the program of probing the earth from outer space. However, this work has not received the necessary latitude up to the present."

#### EFFORTS MADE TO PREVENT CHEATING OF CONSUMERS

[Editorial Report] Baku KOMMUNIST in Azeri on 2 April 1987 carries on page 3 an 800-word Azerinform report on a meeting held at the Azerbaijan CP Central Committee to discuss the organization of trade networks for the spring and summer seasons, when many of its outlets are located out of doors; the article is headlined "We Must Organize Spring and Summer Trade in an Exemplary Manner." Stressing the need to make "significant improvements" in the organization of the fruit and vegetable trade, the report points out that "the republic Agroindustrial Committee must expedite the repair work done in trade areas so that no interruptions of operations in the sale of these goods are permitted. In order to prevent violations of Soviet trade regulations such as cheating customers in weights and quantities, we must provide all trade areas with standard packaging which shows weight and have all scales and other measurement devices [approved?] by state organs."

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CSJ: 1831/415

# FORMATION OF NATIONAL OVERSIGHT BOARD ON ENVIRONMENT URGED

Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 20 Apr 87 p 4

[Article by V. Petrov, professor at Moscow State University, doctor of juridical sciences: "Nature Needs a Lawyer; Problems and Opinions"]

[Text] Material losses for the national economy due to environmental pollution are estimated to be in the hundreds of millions of rubles. Naturally, in each specific case, decisions are made, commissions are organized, additional funds for protection are assigned, preventive and rehabilitative measures are taken, and the guilty are punished... However, specific decisions are insufficient here. General measures are becoming necessary. The CPSU Central Committee Politburo has proposed to the appropriate organizations to prepare a long-term complete program of resolving the ecological problems in the country.

In my opinion, necessary attention must be directed also at the organizational problems.

Functions of state management and control in the field of environmental protection are dispersed among nine state committees and seven ministries. Thus, six ministries and departments provide state control over water protection, three are in charge of protecting atmospheric air, and twenty eight are in charge of the national forests. However, the world of surface animals, monuments of nature, national and natural parks, etc., are completely excluded from management at the national level. The situation is aggravated by the fact that many authorities responsible for state control are themselves the largest consumers of national resources (State Agroindustrial Committee, Ministry of Land Reclamation and Water Resources, Ministry of the Fish Industry, etc.). As a result, they control themselves.

Restructuring of management and control over this important aspect of the national economy is connected with the formation of the USSR State Committee for Environmental Protection and Control over the Utilization of Natural Resources and its local authorities. Requests to organize such a committee were made many times during the late 70's and early 80's. And each time, it was objected to by the ministries and departments in charge of environmental protection. Indeed, with the formation of such a committee, they would lose the privileges of uncontrolled exploitation of natural resources. For some of

them, the formation of this committee will cause either a change in status (State Committee for Hydrometeorology and Environmental Control) or liquidation (State Committee for Forestry).

Today, the problem of creating an all-union committee is being raised again. The decree of the CPSU Central Committee, Presidium of the Supreme Soviet and the USSR Council of Ministers, dated July 25, 1986, admitted the rationality of creating republican committees for environmental protection and control over exploitation of natural resources, and transferring to them the environmental protection services of the ministries and departments which perform their functions on the territory of the union republics. The implementation of this decree will complicate the situation of the union ministries and departments, which will remain without subordinate nature protection services. I think that there is only one solution: in addition to the republic committees, to form an all-union committee for environmental protection and control over the utilization of natural resources based on the departmental environmental protection services. This action guarantees unity of management for environmental exploitation as well as environmental protection, independence of state control from industrial exploitation of natural resources, and increases the responsibility of ministries, departments, enterprises, and associations for implementing ecological safety measures.

The formation of the committee and of its local branches would help to resolve one of the fundamental problems of environmental conservation: creating a system of mandatory consultation with ecological experts during the process of planning, design, and assigning sites to projects, their commissioning, service, new product manufacturing, implementation of new technology, etc. If this system is properly organized and implemented, it will become a reliable shield preventing any harm to the environment, human health, and the national economy.

Surely, restructuring of the environmental protection mechanism cannot be limited to administrative measures only. Ministries, departments, enterprises, and associations consuming natural resources and polluting the environment, in many cases do not fulfill environmental protection plans, mainly because they do not have any incentive to do so.

The legal mechanism of retrieving the losses incurred as a result of breaking environmental protection laws is inefficient. The reason is that the majority of pollution sources operate in a mode with temporarily specified norms with regard to pollutants. Seemingly, they do not break the law because they act with the permission of competent authorities. It is proposed that measures be implemented which will gradually reduce harmful waste and assist in the transition to norms specifying maximum allowable waste levels and to low-waste and nonwaste technologies. However, the economic mechanism does not include the incentives necessary for the implementation of these measures.

Ways of resolving this problem are described in the decree of CPSU Central Committee, Presidium of the Supreme Soviet, and the USSR Council of Ministers, dated July 25, 1986, which requires enterprises and associations to reimburse the losses incurred as a result of environmental pollution regardless of



whether it is a result of lawful actions or a result of breaking the law. A similar norm is repeated also in the Draft USSR Law on State Enterprises (Associations). The recovered mandatory payments go to the republic or local budgets for the implementation of measures to protect the environment. The basis for such economic responsibility is a charge for using natural resources which are especially important under conditions of enterprises' self-supporting production [samookupayemost]. The goal here is to provide economic incentives for reducing waste.

How can the amount of mandatory payments by an enterprise for pollution damage be determined? Some specialists maintain that it is impossible to determine and calculate these losses. Others are afraid that an enterprise's profit may be completely offset by payments for damages. And, finally, still others reject all the mentioned considerations and propose such a method of calculating damages that it can only be used by highly-skilled specialists. At the same time, the purpose of the law is not to replenish the state budget by additional sums derived from repayments for damages, but to economically stimulate the environmental protection activities of enterprises. Based on these considerations, the mandatory payments for polluting the environment may take the form of specially approved taxes per some arbitrary unit of waste.

The omnipotent power of instruction has also penetrated the area of legal responsibility for losses due to pollution of the environment. According to an instruction of the USSR Ministry of Finance, money recovered for losses incurred by a forestry or fishery in accordance with a court decision or arbitration, goes not to the plaintiff, but into the state budget. Thus the institution of compensation for damage is reduced to nil. The injured party loses interest in claiming damages, because a mere shuffling of money from one state "pocket" into another takes place, while the shortcomings in the economic activity which creates the damage are not eliminated.

In addition to the administrative and economic factors, Lenin's principle of the inevitability of punishment must become a mandatory link in the environment protection mechanism. Ecological infringements of the law are numerous. In some fields, they are continuously growing. Yet, they represent a very modest part of the total number of criminal cases. It is a shame to admit that from the time of the introduction of the RSFSR Criminal Code in 1960, there has not been a single case of criminal indictment for deliberate damage or destruction of monuments of nature in accordance with Article 230 of this Code. There are practically no statistics concerning criminal cases with indictments for commissioning projects without purifying installations, manufacturing low-quality equipment designed to render waste harmless, for falsifying records showing the implementation of environmental protection plans, etc.

Of course, the inevitability of punishment must not be construed simplistically to mean that all those guilty must be "locked up." Criminal law is flexible, and punishment is not a retribution, but rather a method of education and a warning. It seems that the use of broad and public hearings of a case, for example, concerning environmental pollution, with a session at the enterprise, participation of the public and experts, with explanations from the management, etc., will leave an unforgettable impression and will force taking measures for protection of the environment.

However, the criminal and administrative responsibilities cannot be an end in itself. They must act in a unified mechanism together with the organizational, economic, and educational measures directed toward the protection of the environment. Only then will the measures for punishment be justified and effective.

13355

CSO: 1800/693

IZVESTIYA INTERVIEWS FIRE PROTECTION CHIEF

Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 17 Jun 87 p 6

[Interview with Maj Gen Anatoliy Kuzmich Mikeyev, chief of Main Directorate for Fire Protection, by A. Illesh, IZVESTIYA correspondent: "Death in a Fire"]

[Text] What does not burn at all?

This somewhat abstract question has only one answer: that which is well protected. However, quite often, one does not understand immediately the seriousness of this common truth. We all know about the danger of fires, but unfortunately, we are quite inattentive to the warnings about being careful. This fact is conclusively confirmed by the following data: every hour, one person dies in a fire, and twenty others are severely injured; every five minutes, a fire occurs somewhere; and each day, fires cause almost a million rubles in direct losses (substantially more in indirect losses) ... A fire costs on the average 2,729 rubles.

Discussion of the everyday problems facing fire protection personnel took place during a press-conference at the USSR Ministry of the Interior on June 16, 1987. There, our correspondent met the Chief of the Main Directorate for Fire Protection, Maj Gen A.K. Mikeyev.

[Illesh] Anatoliy Kuzmich, today many services of the Ministry of the Interior meet with journalists to disclose data and facts which until recently had not been considered fit for publishing. What are the mutual relations between the fire protection personnel and the mass media?

[Mikeyev] In short, they are business-like. Lately, we have not been able to complain about lack of press attention, and this is gratifying. There is no doubt that the problematic and critical articles will benefit us. They will stir up public opinion, and result in the prevention of many fires. In addition, serious articles cause a certain shift in the formation of public opinion: even today, only those who have been directly affected by a fire are afraid of it. The rest of the people regard it as an exotic random event which can be seen almost daily on TV screens. True, for some reason it happens mainly abroad ...

[Illesh] Will the attitude change if we provide our readers with the actual fire loss figures?

[Mikeyev] I hope that our statistics will become available to the public. However, this is a matter of not only the data. Things are more complicated than that.

Today, we are still harvesting the bitter fruits of that long period when the problem of fires was persistently hushed up, and all efforts were made to prove that the problem did not exist. It is painful to admit that we ourselves in our propaganda would start to tell about the terrible fires in Russia before the revolution, and then we would continue with statements such as "Fires also happen today ...". And it became a rule to declare all fires a matter of accident, fatal inevitability, and sad expenses. With the passage of years, most people had developed the stereotype that fires are accidents rather than a social evil. Our sociological polls show that 70 percent of the people consider fires to be in the same class as natural disasters. About 80 percent think that there are substantially fewer fires today than in the past. And, perhaps, the strangest and saddest thing is that every second person does not know what to do in case of a fire ...

[Illesh] And what about the actual number of fires?

[Mikeyev] Alas, bad. These are some results of the analysis for the first five months of this year. The total number of fires in the country is about 50,000. The material (direct) loss caused by fires is more than 100 million rubles. Compared with last year, there is an insignificant reduction in number. 14,500 structures and 1,500 units of machinery were destroyed ...

I repeat again: fires are not random accidents or acts of nature, but rather the results of human irresponsibility, stupidity, and negligence. And these are the problems!

[Illesh] Sure, these are problems. But whose? Of the fire protection?

[Mikeyev] Not only. This problem is one of the whole country, and if you wish, of all mankind, since the country as a whole and each person individually suffer from fires. Today, to pretend that such a problem does not exist is a crime. Only by bringing this problem to the intense attention of public opinion can we stop the wave of fires. Otherwise, fires will cause ever-increasing losses, will carry away even more human lives, and literally will burn up our life.

Many years of experience allow us to state that the subjective, or the human factor, as it is called, is the main problem in practically all fires. The greatest danger today is created by people themselves and by the spontaneity of their behavior.

[Illesh] You are saying that a fire is a social phenomenon. How is one to understand this?



[Mikeyev] Yes, a fire is a social phenomenon. And the scenes of unpunished and irreversible destruction of people's property by fire by no means help us to ingrain the feeling of thrift, but rather create irresponsibility, corrupt, and lead to conniving with regard to squandering the public wealth. Look at the strange situation which has emerged in the national economy. The workers' collectives from the worker to the manager are interested in the completing the plan and in producing goods. Yet, the problem of protecting the manufactured and accumulated products very often does not bother anybody. It is considered to be a job for the firefighters. But this is not so: it is a common job. Here is the latest example. The Law on State Enterprise, which is being prepared for ratification, does not have a single article about the necessity and the responsibility of a collective to protect the enterprise and its production from fires. A danger of another kind also exists. It may happen that in the chase for profit during the introduction of full cost accounting and self-financing, funds for fire protection, considered by many to be nonproductive expenses, may be reduced. For example, railroads moving toward more productive forms of operation often cut their personnel ... at the expense of fire trains. Do you think that there are no problems at the railroads? Here is a cable that came 30 minutes ago: an accident near the city of Kemerovo. A tank exploded and the fire spread to other tanks. Our men are working there now.

Fires also have social repercussions. Whole cities remain without theaters, museums, and libraries. Each week, fires destroy or damage 1000-1500 apartments. And this is taking place while we are experiencing a most acute housing problem. Last year, in some areas there were periods when more housing was burned down than was built. On the average, across the country, 1.5 - 2.0 percent of newly built living space suffers from fires, and in the Tumen oblast, this number exceeds 5.5 percent. Forests are burning ...

However, the worst consequence is human death and trauma. Such tragedies bring into the life of society additional losses. The fact that 37 percent of those killed are children is especially tragic.

[Illesh] How is modern technology being introduced into firefighting, or is it the destiny of the firefighter to use a hose and a canvass uniform?

[Mikeyev] Obviously, progress has touched our service, too. But even here, not everything is smooth. Here is a glaring example of departmental attitudes interfering with our work. The Ministry of Instrument Making (Minpribor) has equipped hundreds of thousands of enterprises with automatic systems for fire prevention, but it does not provide servicing. Huge funds have been spent, but the effectiveness is small. As a result, automatic devices simply do not work during fires. In addition, there are very many false trips, partly due to the poor condition of the automatic systems. This means false alarms. Thousands of them!

[Illesh] What we have discussed relates mainly to the cities. What are the problems now in the country?

[Mikeyev] In short, today we are mostly concerned with the "special territory." What is it? The matter is that in country areas, around 120 to 130

million people practically do not use the help of professional firefighters, and the overwhelming majority of the volunteer fire brigades of the sovkhozs and kolkhozs have low firefighting capacity and extremely low technical support. At the same time, the experience of many countries shows that volunteer fire protection is more economical and often more efficient than professional protection. What is the reason for this? The local population knows well the conditions. The problem is their qualification and equipment. It is sufficient to say that in France there are 800,000 volunteers for 10,000 professional firefighters.

[Illesh] They say: heroism, as a rule, is the forced result of somebody else's crime. This statement sounds especially true in the case of fires ...

[Mikeyev] Indeed, firefighters must risk their lives more often than others, and sometimes, they must give their lives because of the negligence of others. Remember Chernobyl ... Even in "usual," not such risky conditions, our men risk their lives, annually saving about 15,000 people.

13355  
CSO: 1800/704

VALUABLE ICONS STOLEN FROM LATVIAN CHURCHES

Riga SOVETSKAYA LATVIYA in Russian 29 May 87 p 4

[Article by I. Karpov, operative agent of the Department of Criminal Investigations of the LaSSR Ministry of Interior, under the rubric: "Militia Informs": "Thieves and Patrons of the Arts"]

[Text] During the night of 1 April, 13 icons of the 19th century were stolen from a church in Yurmala. Among these icons are: "Nicolas of Mozhausk," Mother of God of Tikhvin, Mother of God of Mozhausk, and "Shroud." Some of them are in silver oklads and rizas. One week later, also during the night, criminals stole 16 icons from the Paramonovskaya Old-believers' Church of the Puzhinskiy rural soviet in Rezeknenskiy rayon. Among the stolen icons are: "Resurrection of Christ," "Annunciation," "Saint Paisiy the Great," and "Christmas." The stolen icons have substantial artistic and historic value.

Thefts of various church objects were carried out recently in Ludzenskiy rayon.

The thieves act arrogantly: they drive to the churches in cars, break window bars and doors, and cut off padlocks. Of course, all this activity creates a noise which can be heard especially well during the night. However, the people living in the neighborhood do not pay attention, and try not to get involved.

The State provides religious societies with the use of buildings for prayers and of cult objects free of charge. These are national property, which the believers must protect and save. Unfortunately, members of religious societies very often cannot provide the required level of protection for cult buildings.

There would be definitely fewer thefts from churches if the criminals had difficulty disposing of the stolen goods. However, buyers can be found: in recent years, many citizens have become collectors of icons and church objects. And demand creates supply.

The collectors must remember: when buying cult objects from strangers, they enter a slippery path. The law specifies confiscation without reimbursement of stolen goods, but for knowingly buying stolen property, the guilty will be brought to justice. Thus, this year in Yelgava, the Town People's Court

punished Yu. Gusakov and O. Khudyakov, who had bought icons stolen from a church in Riga.

The criminals sometimes use the apartments of the collectors, who buy icons and church objects from them, as temporary warehouses. When the opportunity comes, they burglarize the collectors, knowing that the buyers will not complain to the militia because they would not be able to provide a reasonable explanation of where and from whom they bought the cult objects.

Today, the agencies of interior affairs are taking measures to increase protection of church valuables. We rely also on the help of the population in this struggle for the preservation of artistic and historic values. They must be preserved for our descendants.

13355

CSO: 1800/693



PUNISHMENT METED OUT FOR LATVIAN PLANE HIJACKING

Riga SOVETSKAYA LATVIYA in Russian 5 Jun 87 p 1

[Unattributed report: "At the Latvian CP Central Committee"]

[Text] As it is known, on May 27 at 05:15, R.S. Svistunov, a resident of Nikolayev, hijacked an An-2 aircraft from the Salduskiy Rayon air strip and flew across the USSR state border into the territory of Sweden.

During the investigation of the circumstances of this extraordinary event, the Latvian CP Central Committee Buro noted that this event attests to intolerable carelessness on the part of the flight personnel and the supervisory-management cadres of the Latvian Civil Aviation Administration; that they did not draw the necessary conclusions from a similar hijacking of a plane in 1983; and that they did not implement all the necessary measures specified by the 7 June 1983 resolution of the Latvian CP Central Committee Buro.

As before, a great number of omissions have been noted in the management of the aviation subordinate units and services and in party-political work on the part of the chief of the Civil Aviation Administration V.G. Bizyukov, first deputy chief E.A. Koltushkin, deputy chief for operations and safety I.P. Shevchenko, and deputy chief for operating aviation equipment G.A. Sokolov. Insufficient attention is being paid to all-around increased political vigilance and total adherence to official responsibilities and instructions. The role of primary party organizations is being minimized. Restructuring is being implemented slowly.

For the demonstrated carelessness on the part of the supervisory-management cadres, for the weakening of control in the performance of their official duties, and for the lack of proper procedures in providing operational measures, member of the CPSU and chief of the Latvian Civil Aviation Administration V.G. Bizyukov has had a severe reprimand entered into his card. He has been strictly warned that if he does not take the necessary measures to improve order, he will be relieved from his duties.

For gross omissions in party-political work, in the strengthening of discipline and organization, and in increasing the political vigilance of aviation personnel, and for weak party influence in this situation, the chief

of the political department of the Administration, CPSU member V.K. Groshev received a reprimand with a notation on his card.

For criminal negligence, lack of organization, and lack of control over the actions of subordinates, it was found necessary to relieve the commander of the aviation detachment [aviaotryad] V.N. Sidorov of his post.

The Leninskiy and Salduskiy party raykoms have been instructed to bring to strict party account the commander of the Riga Joint Aviation Detachment A.Ya. Zobens and other Communists involved in this extraordinary event.

It has been officially noted that the Latvian SSR Procuracy is conducting an investigation of all circumstances connected with the hijacking of the plane and of the actions of officials in this situation.

13355

CSO: 1800/609

'AMBIGUOUS TRUTHS' BLAMED FOR LATVIAN YOUTH DEMONSTRATION

Riga LITERATURA UN MAKSĻA in Latvian 1 May 87 p 2

["Text" of speech by Janis Peters, chairman of the LaSSR Writers Union, at the 5th Republic Teachers Congress, held on 24, 25 April 1987: "They Protest As Best They Know How"]

[Text] Esteemed teachers, allow me today not only to congratulate you, but also to thank those of you who, while working under difficult and contradictory conditions, were still were able to preserve your spirit. Years of social depression and economic stagnation have weighed heavily on the teacher, but have not broken him.

The live spirit of your congress, the refusal to accommodate to new patterns and cliches that emerge from the lips of speakers in forums of a similar nature, like weeds on a flower bed, all these are testimony to this fact. I have the feeling that your congress is not "approved of at the top" and lately our republic has not had too many of these.

Young people of today want to be revolutionaries more than in previous years, and precisely because of this fact, in my opinion, we must allow them to remain that way. I stress: revolutionaries, not anarchists. A revolutionary destroys to build, but an anarchist destroys for the sake of destruction. Today's youth is different; therefore, they require a different approach. One should not crawl in front of them, but they should not be ignored, either. We must talk to them, we must respect them, but they must be reminded that one day they will be old also, and precisely for this reason they must start thinking of building life on the same site which they just have cleared by demolishing a number of values considered to be useless and disturbing.

Life is very concrete. We quite often forget this fact when we tell them ambiguous truths about the Motherland, people, Communism, culture, friendship among peoples, and world peace. We tell them about these things using dead words which we sometimes back, hiding our fears, and wrapping our souls in banners, as if there were not Evalds Vilks, Ojars Vacietis, Aleksandr Tvardovskiy, and Nodar Dumbadze, as if there were not Rasputin and Aitmatov, as if we did not catch our breath when we hear about the possibility of Pasternak's "Doctor Zhivago" and Rybakov's "Children of Arbat" being published. As if there was not a film by Podnieks being sent to the Cannes

Festival, and the free thinking of Abuladze. It is even more tragic when these things are said by a well-fed Komsomol leader to his only son with pink cheeks, a leader whom we, the parents, writers, ideologists, and other didacticists, who try to accommodate the Komsomol youth with their own comfort of the soul, created. Instead, we must speak to the youth in concrete terms. In Soviet Latvia, the discussion must be different from that, for example, in Armenia. That is because we are separated from Armenia not only by distance and diametrically opposite attitudes toward an element such as water, but also by the ages of the national cultures, ties with emigration of completely different kinds, and very different ratios of natives to newcomers. All of us are united by patriotic feeling toward the great State. However, the building of patriotism will never be complete. In my opinion, we will be able to celebrate a holiday with patriotic vigor only when the concrete for the foundation of our common structure is poured into each republic specifically. At the present time, these foundations are filled with general notions and air bubbles.

From time to time, there are those, who chirping like crickets, run around Riga issuing nationalistic calls, while others do the same with chauvinistic calls in the opposite direction. Where did they come from?

I assume that at first, they want to be revolutionaries, but the further they go, the more their minds imperceptibly are penetrated by someone who transforms their revolutionary fervor into anarchy, instigates the "green" souls of these "crickets" and sometimes even puts into their hands a club and a knife.

Not all of them, but some, do accept these weapons, because yesterday some excessively smart teacher, again yawning and not believing his own words, mouthed general phrases about the friendship of peoples, coining such notions as "token of friendship" and "unprecedented triumph." In addition, a drunk father and a mother, tired of standing in waiting lines, maintain that internationalism means changing one's nationality, and that this should never be done; and in another family, the head of the family, coming back from a restaurant, tells his son that he was driven in a cab by some "beastly" nationalist, who, mildly speaking, was using an "incomprehensible language."

And so young people run around Riga, looking for a fight. For the time being, they have only shouts on their lips, and only the boys' haircuts are fight provoking. However, there are already reports that ambulances are quite busy taking to hospitals those for whom the diagnosis should read "trauma obtained during physical action as a result of low political culture," that is, in a fight in which one side espoused nationalism, and the other, chauvinism.

Now, let us say, I open the school book "The History of the Latvian SSR" written for fourth-grade students. Is it right to call this book a "history" book? It is a compilation of evasive, artificial, clumsy, and approximate phrases about my republic and its peoples.

And, as a Latvian, I feel ashamed before the other residents of this republic, whose children must study this "history."



It may be that the children of native inhabitants of the republic will somehow wade through this book because they have other knowledge. However, the children of newcomers will only be alienated from the history of the republic by this "history" book. Also, if it will alienate them from the history, it will also alienate them from the people. And then there are those who carefully add to these deficient historic facts, and do this in their own interest. Thus, young anarchists are hatched from young revolutionaries.

As long as we are not able to write the history of these shores and of this republic honestly and ably, we will remain running at a slow pace behind the "crickets" in order to find out whether our son or daughter is not among the crowd of 2000 people.

If we will not provide "equal conditions for Russian and Latvian language study," as Boris Pugo said yesterday at the Congress, there will always be those who will try to oppose the language of the Union to the language of the native population of the republic. Here, I want to remind you that the Latvian CP Central Committee in its December 30, 1986 resolution concerning internationalist education, among other measures included a requirement to provide communications equipment in halls and auditoriums in the republic, where meetings are conducted in both the Latvian and Russian languages, in order to ensure a synchronous translation. At the present time, such a system is used only in the auditoriums of the Latvian CP Central Committee and in theaters, where it has been used for decades.

At this Congress, we are speaking about mutual creative cooperation with the writers, and this only shows that we have made the transition from criticism to actual work.

Let us remember here the class for teachers of literature and language given by Mara Zalite near the Rainis Monument during the Days of Poetry. Let us remember here the participation of writers in the Olympiad of Literature and Language, as well as the Language Celebration Days established in the republic, which generated great interest in other Soviet republics and in foreign countries. In my opinion, as soon as possible, the Language Celebration Days must become a celebration for all the people, encompassing all residents of the republic regardless of ethnic origin.

Yesterday, the teachers rebuked a writer who mistakenly said that the school does not teach the theory of literature. Yes, the writer was indeed mistaken, theory is taught, and quite often, the history of literature is also taught, but we also must teach literature as an art form, as an art of words, in the same way as classical music, as paintings, and as classical buildings. We must not oversimplify literature and life by saying that "the revolution took place because in the past it was difficult to work, a fact which is supported by Janis Jaunsudrabinsh's 'White Book.'" We should say that work is always difficult, and especially today, during socialism, if we want to protect socialism and bring it to its maturity, if we want to achieve more socialism within socialism itself.

Literature is a study of the Motherland. Once, the poet Vizma Belshévitsa during a TV program expressed the thought that there is no great mathematician without a love for literature, and that the world's history proves that all great scientists were involved with art. Obviously, the poet is right. It is enough to remember Einstein and his violin, or the learned mathematician and astronomer Krishjan Barons, whose greatest achievement was a collection of folklore songs and poetry called Dainas.

Youth is not a socially isolated class and, therefore, it either repeats the hypocrisy or protests as best it knows.

If we fight to protect the River Daugava's ecology, if we argue about the function of language in a national and federal state such as ours, if we try to build a culture based on international relations, the youth, our children, also participate in these processes. But if we are hit suddenly by narrow-mindedness and delete from TV and radio programs poems about Daugava only because we do not want to irritate the creators of the Daugavpils Hydroelectric Station, and if we eliminate the poem "Laiminas Language" because several newspapers published unjustified views on language functions, we stand in the way of society's rehabilitation, against the course of the Party, and against the personal efforts of the General Secretary. And then it may happen that young people will spit in our eyes. And better late than never, we must take ourselves in hand and learn how to wash off this spit in a manly manner.

We must take care of our common home: Soviet Latvia. We must teach Soviet Latvian patriotism to everybody: Latvians, Russians, Ukrainians, Belorussians, Jews, Lithuanians, Poles, that is, to all people living here.

In each republic, this inculcation of patriotism into young people must be conducted differently depending on the conditions. We must not simply chatter about internationalism. In Armenia, we must speak differently than in, let us say, Uzbekistan; the same pertains to Azerbaijan versus Latvia. A completely new qualitative approach is being developed by the leadership of the Kazakhstan party organization. This leadership is the best ideologue and teacher in an unexpected situation. However, the outcome in Kazakhstan, unfortunately, is tragic; therefore, let us reorganize now! Let us reorganize the teaching of internationalism in accordance with our times, and with the spirit of the 27th CPSU Congress, with the help of literature and of the arts!

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